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THE STORY

OF THE

LIFE OF PIUS THE NINTH.

BY

T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE.

DETROIT:
CRAIG & TAYLOR.
1877.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the following pages were completed, a rumour has been current that Pius the Ninth has for some time past been engaged in writing his own biography. It is somewhat difficult to imagine how he can find time for any such occupation, in addition to the very numerous avocations, to which almost all his hours are known to be allotted, and which have assuredly not been diminished in number and in calls upon his time and energies of late. With all assistance of zealous amanuenses, and other co-operation, however, it may be that his Holiness has been able to do, what all our knowledge of the character of the man would lead us to think he would very much like to do. It would be quite in accordance with his passion for occupying a foremost place in the attention of his contemporaries, and in the eyes of the world that he should desire to leave

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such a record. And it is impossible to doubt that such a bit of autobiography would be extremely interesting. In certain respects, it might also be historically valuable. And, as regards the outer world, it is only the future historian who is at all likely to profit by it. It is hardly to be supposed that any such production will be made public during the lifetime of the present generation.

As regards the present volumes, it will be seen that the object of the writer has been to give an account of the public rather than of the private life of Pius the Ninth; and to set forth the character of the man in accordance with the light thrown upon it by his public conduct, and with reference to such portions of it as have been influential in making that conduct what it has been. It has seemed to the writer that this is what it mainly imports the world to know. But it would be disengenuous to affect, that such an opinion has been the only reason why the more private and intimate details, with which a biographer may be expected to gratify the curiosity of his readers, have been withheld. They have been withheld because the present writer has no means of giving such with a consciousness of their truth and authenticity. Very few persons have such means at their disposition. And it may be with perfect safety assumed, that no one of

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those few will place their information at the disposition of the public.

Plenty of writings have already been given to the public, whose authors—some adulators and some detractors—have striven to attract the attention of the world by seasoning their pages abundantly with such anecdotic matter. But the narrations of such adulators and detractors may be pronounced to be alike wholly untrustworthy. Nay, the perusal of these works is sufficient, I think I may say in every case, to assure the judicious reader that they are so. The unctuous relations of those who have been striving to prepare the groundwork for the future canonization of him whom they profess to consider already a saint, are abundantly characterised by all the well-known marks of pious fiction. And the hatred generated by political events, passions, and partizanship, has not scrupled to blacken its object by calumny of the grossest nature, which none save those who partake of that hatred will for an instant doubt to be such.

That which I have represented the Pope as doing he unquestionably did. That which I have represented him as feeling and thinking has been inferred from the entire tenor of his authentic actions; and no pretence has been made of basing such appreciation on any other grounds

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The reader can control the justice of the deductions for himself. I have striven honestly to estimate both the Pope and the man, fairly and with due reference to the circumstances in which he has been placed.

But Pius the Ninth is still alive. And though not by any means in the enjoyment of such health and vigour as many a man of his age, he may yet live several years. He comes of a remarkably long-lived family; and perhaps physicians may deem that a surer guarantee for length of days than an unfailing robust health. In the meantime it may be affirmed that there is exceedingly little probability that anything should be henceforward said or done by him to modify our appreciation of his character, or the general significance of his career.

It may perhaps be mentioned here, in connection with what has been said in the foregoing sentence, that the great majority of the statements which have recently from time to time been circulated in the newspapers of various countries, as to supposed acts of the Pope with reference to the coming Conclave and to the election of his successors, are utterly baseless inventions, and indicate that their inventors are entirely ignorant of ecclesiastical matters and Church history. A more recent statement, however, to the effect that the Pope has prepared, and

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will leave behind him, a Bull dispensing with the canonical delay of nine days, which should elapse between the death of the Pope and the entry of the Cardinals into Conclave, does not attribute anything to His Holiness which it is not perfectly competent to him to do, nor anything which it is at all unlikely that he has done. The news however is most likely very stale. For the probability is that such a Bull was prepared shortly, if not immediately, after the entry of the Italian troops into Rome. It may be observed however, that such a dispensing Bull would be merely permissive, and that it does not at all follow that it would be acted on.

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THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF PIUS IX.

BOOK I.

FROM HIS BIRTH ON THE 13TH MAY, 1792, TO HIS ELECTION ON THE 17TH JUNE, 1846.

FIFTY-FOUR YEARS.

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CHAPTER I.

SINIGAGLIA.—THE MASTAI FAMILY.—BAPTISMAL REGISTER OF PIUS.—SCHOOL-BOY DAYS AT VOLTERRA.—THE YOUNG MASTAI AT HOME.—STORIES OF HIS YOUTH TO BE REJECTED.—THE POPE'S FOSTER-SISTER.—AMBITION TO OBTAIN A COMMISSION IN THE "GUARDIA NOBILE."—INDICATIONS OF TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER.—DISAPPOINTMENT.—CONSOLATION.

IT is proposed to give here the history of Pius the Ninth, the Pope, and not that of Giovanni Mastai, the man. Nothing would ever have been heard of Mastai beyond the limits of his native province, had he not been forced against his wishes into the ecclesiastical career, by having been pronounced unfitted for that of arms. It will be expedient, therefore, to pass rapidly over the first fifty-four years of his life. It could hardly occur that a similar course should be adopted in any biography save that of a Pope. Nor would it even be probable as regards the biography of any other Pope. The fifty-four years of life, of which a very summary account has to be offered to the reader in this first book of our story, comprise all the active period of the vast majority of human lives. In the case of most men, that portion of their career which can interest the world in general, is over by the time the interesting part of this man's life commences! And so entirely is this the fact, that one might begin the story to be told with the day which turned Giovanni Mastai into Pius the Ninth, as many of his biographers have done, were it not that the old saw of the child being father to the man, is true even in the case of a Pope. In no other case have human arrangements been able to cut off one portion of a life from the antecedent portion so completely. But no holiest oil, or hands, or form of words can, any more than the Horatian "fork," so expel the native Adam, as that it shall not colour, even if it fail to govern, the whole subsequent life.

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It will behove us, therefore, to get such a conception as may be attainable, of what manner of man this Giovanni Mastai was.

A traveller, speeding along the rail which carries him southwards from Bologna, along the shore of the Adriatic, towards far-distant Brindisi, passes, a little before reaching Ancona—flying by in an unregardful manner, if he be in an express train—the little station of Sinigaglia, and the mouth of a miserable little stream coming down from the neighbouring Appennine, called the Misa. A miserable little stream I have called it, because in truth all the streams that after a short course pour the waters of the Apennines into the Adriatic along this part of the coast, are such ; at one moment pernicious torrents, at another dry and hideous expanses of sand and gravel. The little town itself is as unsatisfactory a town as its stream is a river. Nevertheless, some few years ago the name of it was famous throughout Italy, and, in some degree, in neighbouring lands, by reason of the great annual fair held there—the largest in all the South. At the period of the fair, a temporary town of wooden booths and lodging-places was erected by the side of the permanent one. The importance of this fair, as of all others such, has of late years become very much diminished. But there is the wide extent of barren space, on the banks of the Misa, where the fair was held, and is so as far as it remains, which perhaps may be pointed out to the stranger as the train dashes by. Also he can see from the window the huge building of the Capuchin convent, an explanatory commentary on the unprogressive barbarism of the district. For that is the character of this region ; and even yet to the traveller leaving Lombardy or Tuscany behind him, his course across the "Apostolical dominions" affords a lesson, which he that runs even by rail cannot miss reading, of the results of papal sovereignty.

Here on the Adriatic coast, in this remote portion of the papal territory, dwelt the forefathers of the present Pope. The name of the family was originally Mastai ; and descended, as report says, from a maker of combs who came from the north of Italy to settle there, they were previously to the close of the 17th century, not noble. The Mastai race were, however, as we are told, of the active, pushing, energetic kind of those who

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rise in the world. And the marriage of one Gian-Maria Mastai with an Anconitan heiress of the name of Ferretti, gave him, together with fortune, a second name to add to his own, and the title of Count. Shortly afterwards, Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti married Catherine, a daughter of the Sollazzi family, who was, we are told, a tall, handsome, and excellent woman. Of this marriage, Gian-Maria Mastai-Ferretti was born on the 13th of May, 1792, the second of a numerous family. Since much doubt has prevailed respecting the Pope's age, as well as for the sake of a correct statement of his names, it may be worth while to give the following authentic extract from the register of the church at Sinigaglia:

"I, undersigned, Vicar perpetual of the noble cathedral, and parish church of St. Peter the Apostle, at Sinigaglia, certify the following extract. Sunday, 13th May, 1792. The *Illustrissimo* Signore Giovanni, Maria, Gianbattista, Pietro, Pellegrino, Isidoro, son of the noble Count Girolamo Mastai-Ferreti and of the Countess Catherine Sollazzi his wife, was baptised by the most Rev. Canon Don Andrea Mastai. Hieronima Moroni was godmother. He was born the same day, at forty-five minutes past one in the morning.

(Signed) "PIÉTRO VENTURINI,
"Vicar Perpetual."

The Andrew above-mentioned, and who became afterwards Bishop of Pesaro, was the child's uncle. Another uncle was a canon of St. Peter's, at Rome.

At twelve years old, the young Mastai was sent to a school at Volterra, nnder the direction of the well-known astronomer Inghirami, a member of the Order of Scolopi. The fact indicates the liberalism of his parents; for Volterra is in Tuscany, and the Scolopi, engaged in instruction also at Florence, were among the most liberal of the clergy. The mere fact of sending a child out of the Roman States into Tuscany to be educated, was in those days an unmistakable indication of liberalism.

It is not often that much can be learned of the school-boy days of an old man between eighty and ninety, to whom no special attention was called till he was fifty-four. But it so happens that the present writer was intimately acquainted with

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one who was the young Mastai's schoolfellow at Volterra—the Commendatore Peruzzi, uncle of the present syndic of Florence. The remembrance which this old gentleman retained of his schoolfellow was perfect; but was not favourable. The fault he was constantly wont, when speaking of his recollections of those schoolboy days, to attribute to the young Mastai, was untruthfulness. "He was," declared the old Commendatore, "the greatest liar in the school!" Other accounts of his school-days, which I have reason to believe to represent at all events the genuine recollections of the narrators, represent him as an idle lad, whose want of application was excused on the score of his weak health, but who never manifested any talent whatever.

Others have recorded also that he was very much of an invalid during those school years. He had from very early youth been liable to those epileptic seizures, which, though attacking him in a very much less degree, have never altogether quitted him. And he was altogether weakly, and little fitted for companionship with boys of his own age. When he left the school, in 1808, in his sixteenth year, he had learned, we are told, a little Latin and no Greek; and probably the same might have been said of every one of his schoolfellows. It is added, however, that he had formed a taste for reading the poets, and wrote verses of his own which were not discreditable to him. "His mind," says a writer, speaking of that period, "had taken a romantic turn, which, aided by a temperament of excessive nervous mobility, gave him the character of a vividly impressionable and enthusiastic youth." And here is the account which a recent biographer* gives of him at the period of his life immediately following his school-days: "So he came back to Sinigaglia. That town was at that time a part of the kingdom of Italy (*i.e.*, Napoleon's kingdom of Italy). The period was one of enthusiasm for Napoleon, for soldiers, and for military ideas. Young Mastai sang 'The Battle of Dresden,' and caused himself to be inscribed on the roll of those Freemasons†

*Petrucelli della Gattina; to whom I leave all responsibility for the accuracy of his statements.

†It has constantly been asserted and as constantly denied, that the young Mastai was a mason. It is exceedingly probable, considering the complexion of the times, and the liberalising tendencies of his then surroundings, that he did become a member of the Order. Nor is there the slightest reason for

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whom he subsequently anathematised. He lived among soldiers, with his eyes constantly bent on the epaulettes. Thenceforward he began to give himself an education more in conformity with his birth* and his wishes. He took to the study of arms; he rode much; he studied music and played the flute and the violoncello; then, ambitious of leading a barrack life, he became a notable adept at colouring a pipe, emptying a bottle at a draught, and became passionately fond of billiards and tennis. These amusements improved his health. He adopted a style of costume half civil half military, with a dash of the barber's apprentice in it, but supremely elegant, after the fashion of a provincial dandy. He wore a grey frock with black cuffs and a collar, a red foraging cap, pantaloons with stripes down the seams, large shirt-collars turned down over his shoulders, with a red cravat flying in the wind; spurs, a flower in his button-hole, and a cigar always in his mouth."

The whole of this description is probable enough. The young provincial dandy was very far, at that time, from dreaming of the Church as a profession. And it is certain that he was looking forward to a military career. Many of his biographers relate that he was enrolled in the Garde d'Honneur of Napoleon; that he served in the 1st squadron of the 1st Regiment. Others have said that he took service with Austria; and others, again, coming nearer the mark, that he was a member of the Guardia Nobile of Pius the Seventh. The probability is, however, that all these statements are devoid of foundation.

The author of the personal description above quoted, who, though an Italian, writes in the French language and in a very markedly French spirit and style, goes on to relate, at great length and with much detail, a number of stories of a scanda-

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deeming it any ground of censure, that he should have done so; or for thinking that it is *on that ground more* a matter of blame, that he should subsequently have looked at the matter from a papal point of view.

* The education he had been receiving was in no wise other than "in conformity with his birth." His family were small, provincial, by no means wealthy nobles. And the only careers open to him, as the cadet of such a family, in the then condition of things, were those of the Church; of a half-starved idle hanger-on to the head of the family; arms; or some almost equally half-starved small subaltern government employment. And the old prejudices, which caused this condition of things, are still working manifold evil throughout the whole socia body of Italy, especially in the central and southern parts of the peninsula

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lous description, referring not only to the period of Mastai's life now under consideration, but to times long subsequent to his ordination, and even to his consecration as a bishop, the whole of which may be put aside as utterly apocryphal, and unworthy of credit or attention. The same author goes much further even than this, and insinuates, if he does not absolutely assert, with regard to Mastai's life from about* his nineteenth to about his twenty-fourth year, that a course of very gross profligacy, culminating in crimes of a very revolting and degrading character, led him to the determination to drown himself in the Tiber; from carrying which determination into execution he was prevented only by the chance interference of his friend the advocate, Signor Cattabene,† "at the present day Counsellor of the Court of Appeal of Ancona—*the same man who has given me all these details so precise, and of so private a nature.*"

I can but repeat, however, that the best information I have been able to obtain upon the subject leads me to warn the reader against accepting any of these stories as historical.

One anecdote which belongs to this period, and to which Signor Petrucelli refers in a manner that imparts a probably unfounded calumnious significance to it, may be mentioned, not only because it is true, but because it belongs not only to the far past, but, unfortunately to the present days also. The young Mastai had a foster-sister, a Signorina Morandi. He fell in love with her, and his passion was reciprocated She was married, however, (perhaps by the influence of the Mastai family,) to a Signor Ambrogi, a singer. These circumstances, thus divested of the discreditable features attributed to them by Signor Petrucelli, are true. And it is also true that this foster-sister, the aged widow of the singer Ambrogi, is now living in dire distress and poverty at Florence, dependent on charity for her daily bread; but not on the charity of Pius the Ninth.

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* Signor Petrucelli does not trouble himself much with p recise dates.

† Careful inquiries have confirmed me in the belief that despite this apparent authenticity of reference, no credit is to be attached to any of the more scandalous particulars of these stories. I find that there was, perhaps still is, a gentleman of the name mentioned, in the position assigned to him. Signor Petrucelli calls him "a friend of the infancy" of Pius. But he must have been very considerably his junior.

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To all the petitions in which the unfortunate old woman has attempted to awaken some pity for her forlorn age by recalling the memory of past days to the Pontiff, she has never received any single word of reply! She persistently maintains that it is wholly impossible that such treatment should be meted out to her by Giovanni Mastai, although he wear the threefold crown. She believes that her supplications have all been prevented from reaching her old love by those about him. And it may be that such is the case; but it may be, on the other hand, that the poor old lady does not sufficiently appreciate all the changes operated in a human being by the wearing of that awful tiara.

Passing by all the crowd of anecdotes, one-half indicative of extreme profligacy, and the other half of especial sanctity of heart and manners, which are related by anti-papal and papal biographers, as based all of them on mere gossip, unverified, and now unverifiable, it will be sufficient to state that young Mastai certainly came to Rome with the hope of obtaining a commission in the Pope's Noble Guard. He certainly had at that time conceived no idea of taking Orders; and it is of course probable that his mode of life and habits were those of a young officer rather than those of a young priest. He had obtained the placing of his name on the roll of candidates for a commission, and was awaiting the vacancy that should admit him to the object of his ambition, when he was one day picked up from the gutter of one of the thoroughfares of Rome! The cruel malady, which had persecuted him from childhood, still pursued him; and this public proof of the fact led to a declaration by the commandant of the corps in question that the young Mastai could not be received into it.

This is said, doubtless with truth, to have been a very severe blow to him. The Noble Guard of Pius the Seventh, as re-established on the Pope's recovery of his throne at the liberation of Europe from Napoleon, and the French revolution, was not likely to reap much military glory, or indeed ever to smell the burning of powder on any other occasion than that of a salute. But their uniform was a very showy one; and we shall run small risk of forming an erroneous judgment, if we believe that this was the aspect of military life that fired the ambition of the young Mastai. A sort of almost feminine fondness for

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personal display, glitter and exhibition, may be traced in the Pope's idiosyncrasy, and in many incidents of his career, which illustrate this tone of character. And the insatiable craving for admiration and applause, which is perhaps the most strongly marked of all the elements that compose it, is readily recognisable as another phase of the same temperament.

The malady which rendered Mastai unfit to be enrolled as a member of the Pope's pacific body-guard, rendered him at least equally unfit, according to all the canons of the Church, to receive Holy Orders. But the unfitness in the one case could be set aside, or disregarded; in the other it could not! Pius the Seventh, who was a native of Cesena on the same Adriatic coast, was, we are told, in some small degree, related to Mastai. We have seen already that he had two uncles living at Rome, and belonging to the aristocracy of the Church, one a bishop, the other a canon of St. Peter's. The rejected candidate for a commission in the Noble Guard carried his disappointment to the foot of the throne of Christ's Vicar, and was comforted. Mother Church was willing to accept him, if none other would! Dispensations got rid of all canonical difficulties; and the future Pope received his first orders as sub-deacon on the 18th of December, 1818; and, by virtue of more dispensations, his full priest's orders immediately afterwards, on condition that he should never celebrate mass, save with another priest at his elbow, to prevent the possibility of sacrilege happening to the sacred elements in consequence of an epileptic attack seizing him at the moment of his taking them into his hands.

The writer of a recent French biography of Pius the Ninth, M. Villefranche, relates that he was subsequently relieved from this condition, at his petition, by Pius the Seventh, who said to him: "Yes! we grant you this favour also, the more readily that we believe this cruel malady will torment you no more."

On which M. Villefranche remarks: "Had Pius the Seventh at that moment an illumination from on high? Did he know the destiny of the humble priest then kneeling before him? Anyhow, the fact is that his prediction was realized, and that the malady completely disappeared."

It is difficult to suppose that the biographer was ignorant of the fact that the malady in question has never "disappeared" from that day to this.

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CHAPTER II.

CONTRADICTORY ESTIMATES.—"MISSION" AT SINIGAGLIA.—MELODRAMATIC PREACHING.—CLERICAL PRIMO TENORE.—HOSPITAL OF TATA GIOVANNI.—APPOINTMENT TO A CANONICATE.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF LEAVING THE PRESIDENCE OF THE HOSPITAL.—MISSION TO SOUTH AMERICA.—THE TRUTH RESPECTING THE APPOINTMENT OF MASTAI AS SECRETARY TO THE MISSION.—SINGULAR MEETING WITH CARDINAL LAMBRUSCHINI AT GENOA.—THE VOYAGE OF THE "ELOISA."—IMPRISONMENT IN SPAIN.—EMINENT DANGER OF SHIPWRECK.—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CAUSED THE FAILURE OF THE MISSION.—HARDSHIPS AND MISFORTUNES IN SOUTH AMERICA.—A SACRILEGIOUS TOAD.—ANECDOTE OF MASTAI AS A WAG.—RETURN TO ROME.

THE biographer of Pius the Ninth, who would fain write in no partisan spirit, but would strive to represent the man and his life as they really are and have been, meets with a difficulty, to be found, it may be presumed, in all such attempts; but rarely, as may well be believed, in a similarly excessive degree. The materials before him are abundant indeed; exist truly in such masses, that any pretence of having examined them all would be an insincerity, at once rejected by those who have any acquaintance whatever with the subject. But among the thousands of statements* which have been put forth by more or less well-informed persons, there are very few indeed which are available for comparison with each other, for controlling each other, for guiding the seeker of truth into that *via media*, in which it is doubtless to be found. The innumerable writers upon the subject may be divided into two categories; one, of those who represent the Pontiff to have been a worthless profligate in youth, a cruel tyrant in his manhood's prime, and heartless, selfish, weak and false in his old age; the other, of those who assure the world that the angelic virtues

* As regards the man himself, and his character, I mean, of course—not as to public events; although in many cases, even these are the subject of very contradictory accounts.

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which adorn his saintly character have been surpassed, and hardly surpassed, by Him only whose Vicar on earth he is!

As might be expected, those who have attempted to push their inquiries so far back as the days before the Church claimed him for her own, have belonged mainly to the former category. Those of the latter interest themselves less with the man than the priest; and if any available information should go to show that the miracle of suddenly turning a very bad man into a very good one was accomplished by the laying on of episcopal hands, the fact would not be unacceptable to them. To a certain degree, and as regards matters in reality superficial, the facts of the case seem to favour such a view.

I have endeavoured to separate what is probably true from what is almost certainly false, in the unfavourable accounts given of Giovanni Mastai's life as a young man. It must be remembered, however, that the world in the midst of which he lived was a very grossly profligate one; and he certainly lived the life of one who expected to become shortly an officer in a do-nothing show regiment, and not the life of one who was preparing to be a priest, even as priests were in those days in Rome. But it is certain that it has been the general opinion of those most in a position to be well informed on the subject, that the ecclesiastical career of Pius the Ninth as Bishop, Archbishop, and Cardinal, was not in any special degree stained by any of those classes of vice which are generally deemed to be more pardonable in a layman than in a priest. Despite all positive statements to the contrary, he seems, some human failings apart, to have lived decently as a priest from the time he became such.

He said his first mass in the Church of St. Anna de' Falegnami on Easter Sunday, 1819, being then twenty-six years old. He had, however, before this been engaged in the work of the ministry, having been attached in the capacity of catechist to a "mission"* held in his own native province. Of course we

* The practice of holding "missions, or special preachings and spiritual ministrations by priests who are strangers to the district in which the mission is held, is, as practised by the Roman Catholic Church, very similar to that of holding "revivals" practised by the Methodists. The object sought is the same—that of exciting emotional religious sentiment; and the means used are the same—the eloquence of trained preachers other than

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are assured that his evangelising labours were attended with the most wonderful results, and that the heart of his most pious mother was flooded with holy joy at seeing her so recently somewhat graceless son thus distinguishing himself. But I think that, if it had been my duty to arrange the itineraries of the missions of that year, I should not have selected Sinigaglia as the most appropriate field of action for the young gentleman who had so recently been familiarly known in its streets, with that red foraging cap and scarlet neck-handkerchief flying in the wind, and the cigar eternally in his mouth!

Neverthless, we are told that his success as a missionary was enormous; and stories are told of the melodramatic devices to which he had recourse to heighten the effects produced in the pulpit by his handsome person, his magnificent voice, and his eloquence; how the effects of light and shade were managed, the former concentrated on his own pale and handsome face, the rest of the church in almost total darkness! How he would set up a skull with a bit of candle in it, and address his tirades to that ghastly object! How he would dip the ends of a thigh-bone in blazing spirits of wine, to assist in bringing home to the imagination of his hearers the pictures he drew of the pains of hell and purgatory! And all this is exceedingly probable, for it is in striking accordance with the nature and character of the man, eager for personal exhibition and applause; given to clap-trap, theatrical and melodramatic in the quality of his mind; a born charlatan, who if he had not been a Pope, could have found no other sphere of life so fitted to his special gifts and idiosyncrasies as that of a theatrical *Primo Tenore.*

The little church in which he said his first mass is attached to the foundling hospital of Tata Giovanni. This was an institution founded in the course of the last century, by an excellent and pious mason of Rome, who commenced the good work by giving an asylum in his own home to a number of friendless orphans. Assisted by others, the little institution prospered, and obtained the means of perpetuity. This good man's name

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those to whom the hearers are accustomed. The effects are not the same, being less pernicious in the Roman Church, in consequence of the Roman priest aiming at and contenting himself with certain exterior practices, and in consequence of the material he has to work on being mainly minds devoid and incapable of any devotional depth of feeling.

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was Giovanni Borgi. His young *protégés* spoke of him naturally enough as Tata Giovanni—Papa Giovanni, as we should say; and hence the name by which the hospital has become permanently known. To this little institution he was, in 1819, on returning crowned with laurels from his mission, appointed president. And in the same year he received the appointment of coadjutor to the Canon Annibale Gregorio Schmid, in the church of St. Maria in Via Lata. In these appointments he continued till the year 1823, occupying himself assiduously in the care of the orphans entrusted to his supervision. His detractors relate that he was obliged to relinquish the presidency of the hospital in consequence of a dispute with one of his colleagues in the government of the hospital, arising out of his too great severity to the lads, and his partiality. All that is known of the character of Pius the Ninth would go to show that the first of these accusations is highly improbable; the second perhaps much less so. It seems very unlikely, however, to those who are well acquainted with the habits of Italian thought and ways and administration, that any such cause should have led to such a result. It is said, again, that these disagreeable circumstances at the hospital were the cause of that notable voyage to South America, which is the next incident in the Pontiff's varied career. It is possible enough that he may have had an unpleasant quarrel with some one of his colleagues, without the cause of that quarrel having had anything to do with his conduct towards the children under his charge. But it is extremely improbable that any such dispute should have led him to adopt so very disproportionate a measure for escaping the annoyance of it, as the acceptance of a mission to South America. We shall probably be nearer to the truth, and be arriving at a conclusion far more in accordance with the characteristics of the man, if we suppose his desire to make part of the mission to South America, to be attributable to his longing to figure on a larger scene, to place himself conspicuously before the world, to attract attention and be the observed of all observers.

The recently formed republics, which had just succeeded, or had hardly yet definitely succeeded, in throwing off the yoke of Spain, had requested the Apostolic See to send out to them a mission for the regularising of their ecclesiastical affairs. Pius the Seventh had selected Monsignore Muzi, then Bishop *in*

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partibus, and subsequently Bishop of Città di Castello, as Legate to Southern America. And most of the biographers assert that he applied to Mastai to accompany him in the quality of secretary and chaplain. Others, who have written in a hostile spirit, declare that he was forced upon Muzi, and upon the Cardinal Secretary of State, Consalvi, by the Pope, whose promise of the appointment had been privately obtained. The following extract from an authentic letter, addressed by Archbishop Caprano, to an official of the Secretary of State's office, dated 22nd April, 1823, proves that the former statement at least is not true :

"GENTILISSIMO SIGNOR ABBATE;—

"To please a member of the Sacred* College, I have to propose as companion to Monsignore Muzi, in his voyage to Chili, and in his Apostolic ministry, Count Giovanni Maria Mastai, nephew of the late Monsignore Mastai, and Coadjuvator Canon of S. Maria, in Via Lata."

The writer goes on to enumerate a variety of excellent qualities to be found in the young aspirant, the truthfulness and value of which statement may be estimated by the mention in the catalogue of virtues of "learning, which is found in him most abundantly." Enough has been said already to show how far it was possible that this should have been the case. The writer of the letter goes on to mention, as a reason against making the appointment asked for, that the hospital of Tata Giovanni would lose a most affectionate and able governor, and the children there be deprived of a tender father. "A vacancy would be made there, difficult, or rather impossible, to fill ; because such another president could not be found." All which, of course, is mere official flummery.

The truth seems to have been that Mastai applied to his protector, Della Genga, for the appointment ; that the latter, going direct to the Pope, obtained from him, already, as has been seen, well disposed towards Mastai, the promise of it ; and that the Secretary of State, Consalvi, who had already named the Abbate Giuseppe Sallusti as Secretary to the Mission, was

* The Cardinal Annibale della Genga, a great friend and protector of Mastai, who so shortly afterwards succeeded Pius the Seventh as Leo the Twelfth.

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somewhat embarrassed by the necessity of keeping the Pope's promise. However, room was made for the new-comer. He was to be Secretary, and Sallusti went as "Historiographer."

The voyage was from first to last an eventful one. The travellers, including in their party the Archdeacon Cienfuegos, Minister Plenipotentiary from Chili to the Papal Court, and his chaplain, the Dominican Raimondo d'Arce, who happened to be returning to their country, left Rome on the 3rd July, 1823. The good ship *Eloisa* was awaiting them at Genoa. When they got there, however, and had sent all their baggage on board, and it had been stowed below, the captain discovered that he must wait for a consignment which had not yet arrived, and would not be able to sail for several days! The travellers had no choice but to leave their trunks on board and return to their hotel. But there they found that the quarters they had occupied were already let to others, and that no room was to be found for them! In this embarrassment they applied to the Archbishop, who hospitably received and entertained them. Very naturally, of course. And the incident would not have been worth mentioning but for the circumstance that the Archbishop in question was the Cardinal Lambruschini, and that that was his first meeting with the man who was subsequently, twenty-five years later, the successful rival who ousted him from the Papacy.

The party were still at Genoa when the tidings of the death of Pius the Seventh, which occurred on the 20th of August, reached them; and the news of the election of Mastai's friend and protector, Della Genga, as the successor of Pius the Seventh, under the name of Leo the Twelfth, on the 28th of September, must have reached them while they were still detained in that port; for it was not till the 5th of October that the *Eloisa* finally set sail for the other side of the Atlantic. On the evening of the 10th they had rough weather, which drove them on to the coast of Catalonia; and it was not without having been exposed to very considerable danger, that they succeeded in finding refuge in the port of Palma. Palma, however, is in Spain, and they were bound for Spain's revolted colonies; and they soon found that they had escaped the perils of the ocean only to fall into other perils by land. It seems strange that a bishop, invested with the character of Pontifical Legate, and his suite, should

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have been treated as Monsignore Muzi and his companions were by the authorities of a Spanish provincial town; but it must be supposed that such things must be accepted among other equally strange "cosas de España." The first thing was that the *Eloisa*, by some absurd interpretation of the absurd quarantine laws, was declared "in contumacy" for twenty days! As soon as the object of the journey of the ecclesiastical party became known, they were compelled to land and were forthwith thrown into prison. For it was clear that the colonies, being in a condition of rebellion against Spain, nobody ought to be permitted to go thither without Spanish passports and Spanish authority. Meantime the municipal councillors, in the temporary absence of the Governor, had debated what ought to be done in the present unprecedented circumstances, and had come to the conclusion that there could be no harm in sending the prisoners to the fort of Ceuta, on the opposite coast of Africa, till the pleasure of the superior authorities could be known in the matter! Fortunately, Monsignore Muzi had in the meanwhile found the means of communicating with the consuls of Sardinia and Austria, and with the Bishop of Majorca; and when at the expiration of five days the Governor returned, the prisoners were set at liberty, and the *Eloisa* was permitted to continue her voyage.

They crossed the Atlantic without further incident, save falling in with a slaver carrying a full cargo to Rio Janeiro, which came so close to them that they could hear the groans of the slaves and the clanking of their chains; but, on nearing the coast, were overtaken by a storm, which placed them in the most imminent danger. The "historiographer" Sallusti records, among other moving accidents and misfortunes, that a terrible lurch of the ship sent Mastai flying, from the place where he was sitting on one side of the cabin, with his head directed in the fashion of a battering-ram, against the abdomen of the Dominican, who was seated on the opposite side. The companions of the two victims, we are told, considered it a very remarkable case of special Providence, that "the former did not fracture his skull, or the latter have his sternum staved in." And as a subsequent biographer very seriously remarks, the Abbate Sallusti cannot be accused of relating this incident for the sake of attaching *a romantic interest* to the person of the

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future Pope, inasmuch as he wrote twenty-five years before the elevation of the victim of it! The danger to which the voyagers were exposed seems, however, to have been very real; and the *Eloisa* did not succeed in making her port at the Rio della Plata till the 1st of January, 1824.

At Buenos Ayres Monsignore Muzi and his companions were at first received with all honour and welcome. But the circumstances which inevitably, and as a foregone conclusion, condemned the expedition to failure very shortly began to show themselves. The republican Governor, a few days after their arrival, ordered them to leave the city immediately; and his absolute refusal to permit the Apostolic Vicar to hold a confirmation in the cathedral, is sufficiently indicative of the motives of the republican authorities. They felt that there was reason to dread the influence of these Roman priests on a population whose bigoted and fervent Catholicism formed one of the greatest difficulties with which those intent on establishing a Republican form of government, independent of the mother country, had to contend.

It would need a much longer exposition of the state of things and of parties in the new republics at that time to trace the causes of all the troubles and failure to which the Apostolic Mission was exposed, than can be introduced into these pages. They all of them were more or less directly reducible to the cause which has been already intimated, and to the fundamental grounds of dispute which inevitably existed between the Republican leaders and the Church influences and Church feeling of the populations, out of which they were attempting vainly enough, to form free and self-governing communities.

But besides the political circumstances, which rendered the mission necessarily a failure, the unhappy ecclesiastics had to suffer troubles of quite a different order, which, however, might doubtless have been much mitigated had the strangers and their objects been truly welcome to the authorities of the country. Here is a sketch, based on the relation of the historiographer Sallusti, of their journey across the Pampas:

"To travel the entire day, under the rays of a burning sun, across arid plains; to be in perpetual danger of being murdered on the way by savage Indians, or devoured by wild beasts during their sleep at night; to be without water to quench

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intolerable thirst, or food to satisfy their hunger ; to sleep in stinking cabins infested by thousands of poisonous insects, or under the open sky in a climate reeking with copious and unwholesome dews ; this is the life which travellers on the Pampas lead, and which Mastai led for three months. And yet with what good temper, with what patience, with what never-failing cheerfulness did he support all these privations, and face all these dangers ! His companions long preserved the memory of his unalterable good-humour, and of his light-hearted words."

One night at a place called Chovillo, the party having been obliged to pass the night on the bare earth, were assailed by an innumerable quantity of toads, and, horrible to relate, his historiographer records that one of these loathsome reptiles was found absolutely on the head of the future Pope, where he was attacking the spot bared by the tonsure so viciously that it was not without difficulty that he was detached !

At last they arrived at Santiago di Chili on the 19th of March, 1824. The same difficulties, however, awaited them here which had driven them from Buenos Ayres. The populace made too much of them. The men in power would fain have got rid of them. The republic had agreed to lodge and board the mission, and it did so, but in such sort, as to both food and lodging, that the strangers had to live almost *al fresco* and were half starved. Every possible hindrance and obstacle was placed in the way of their accomplishing the purposes for which they had come. One of these was the regularizing of the position of the monks and nuns. The ecclesiastial property had been confiscated, and a pension was to be allowed for the regulars remaining in the monasteries. For that purpose the numbers in each were to be certified by these experts come from Rome. And no doubt there was a vast amount of fraud as usual in such matters. But one story is told, and has always been believed, which would go to show that all the faults were not on the side of the Republican Government ; also that our young Monsignore, Canon Mastai, was in his time a wag.. In the Convent of the Augustines all the inmates had accepted secularization, with the exception of the Father Superior, the cook and a dog attached to the convent. They sent in a demand for three individuals, and Mastai duly passed it, specifying the individuals in due form, and submitting the

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paper for signature to the Legate, who signed without reading it! Signor Petrucelli represents that the matter was so arranged that Mastai put in his own pocket the sum of which the Government was defrauded. But though I have heard this story told for the last thirty years, I never before heard this signification attached to it. The escapade on the part of Mastai was purely a bit of (somewhat irreverent) fun. The scandal it created at Chili at the time was considerable, and it is said to have contributed to the determination of the Legate to strike his tents and return. They reached Rome at the beginning of July, 1825.

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CHAPTER III.

MASTAI'S RETURN TO ROME.—CARDINAL DELLA GENGA, AS LEO TWELFTH.—HIS CHARACTER.—CONSALVI AND ANTONELLI.—POLICY OF LEO TWELFTH.—HIS TREATMENT OF THE JEWS.—RESULTS OF HIS SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.—CARDINAL RIVAROLA AT RAVENNA.—HIS VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS.—HIS GRAND MEASURE OF RECONCILIATION.—MASTAI APPOINTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MICHAEL.—CONFLICTING STATEMENTS AS TO HIS CONDUCT THERE.—CARDINAL TOMMASO BERNETTI, LEO'S SECRETARY OF STATE.—HIS CHARACTER.—SUMMING UP OF THE RESULTS OF THE REIGN OF LEO THE TWELFTH.—MASTAI APPOINTED TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SPOLETO.

MASTAI returned to Rome to find his old friend and protector, the Cardinal della Genga, on the throne as Leo the Twelfth; and matters in the Pontifical dominions looking, to those who had eyes to read the signs of the times, very bad and menacing. After the exclusion of Cardinal Severoli in the Conclave, which assembled at the death of Pius the Seventh, by the *veto* of Austria, the choice of a new Pontiff had lain between Consalvi, the late Secretary of State, and Della Genga. Besides being personally hostile, they were very diametrically opposed to each other in opinions, temperament and views. Consalvi had passed his life in diplomacy, knew Europe and its political conditions well, was a man of the world, and would have at least striven to introduce such moderately rational ameliorations in the Papal Government as might have possibly done somewhat to avert the storm which was evidently brewing. Della Genga, fully minded to spend and be spent in the struggle to do his duty, conceived that that duty consisted in improving the state of things by going backwards; in intensifying clericalism, and in crushing all opposition and rebellious discontent with a high hand by means of violent repression and terror. Antonelli, the minister of Pius the Ninth, has died before his master, instead of surviving him as Consalvi did; and he was by no means so good a man as the latter. But he was an equally shrewd man, and

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was equally well fitted by his experience to read the signs of the times, and understand what of the claims of the Church it might be possible by judicious conduct to preserve, and what must inevitably be abandoned in the hope of saving the remainder. The Sacred College, at that forking of the ways when they might have made either Consalvi or Della Genga Pope, took the road which led to uncompromising resistance to all the demands of the civil world. A similar choice will shortly be again presented to them. But the demands of the world have in the meantime grown to be very much higher. It remains to be seen whether the guardians of the Papacy will give mankind a Pope who will be willing to give much for the sake of retaining something, or one after the fashion of the Jesuit-inspired Syllabus and the Encyclical, who, giving nothing, will force mankind into taking all.

The ardently-pursued policy of Leo the Twelfth was simply to restore old practices and usages, which had been abandoned, only because they had been found to be intolerable. "He was determined," writes an historian* of that epoch, "to change the condition of society, bringing it back to the utmost of his power to the old usages and ordinances, which he deemed to be admirable; and he pursued that object with never flagging zeal. By him the authority of the various congregations of Cardinals was restored, and many old practices and disciplines of the Apostolic Curia were re-established. He was a great protector and encourager of all the religious confraternities. He insisted by the bull *Quod divina Sapientia*, on placing the entire system of the education of youth under priestly control. He put all institutions of charity and beneficence into the hands of the clergy. He confirmed and even enlarged all the immunities, privileges, and jurisdictions of the ecclesiastical order. He took from the Jews the right to possess property, compelling them to sell what they had within a given time. He recalled to life and vigour many of the insulting and barbarous usages of the middle ages as regarded them. He shut them into the Ghetto with walls and gates. He placed them under the power of the Inquisition; which caused many wealthy traders to emigrate to Trieste, to

* "Lo Stato Romano, dell' anno 1815 al 1850," per Luigi Carlo Farini, vol. i. p. 17.

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Lombardy, and to Tuscany. He abolished the magistracy which had the care of vaccination, and repealed their regulations. He gave unlimited powers of entail to possessors of property. He gave over the whole system of the administration of justice into the hands of priests, and reduced all form of trial to the arbitrary decision of a single judge. He invested the central government with all the powers previously exercised by the municipalities. He increased the severity of the game laws. He commanded that the Latin tongue should be used in all judicial proceedings, and in all the education of youth."

And all this was done by a good man anxious and eager to do his duty to the best of his lights and understanding!

The results of his method of governing his states soon showed themselves in insurrections, conspiracies, assassinations and rebellion, especially in Umbria, the Marches, and Romagna; the violent repression of which by a system of espionage, secret denunciation, and wholesale application of the gibbet and the galleys, left behind it to those who were to come afterwards a very terrible, rankling, and long-enduring debt of party hatreds, of political and social demoralisation, and—worst of all—of contempt for and enmity to the law, as such.

What else could be the result of such an administration of justice (!) as Ravenna, for instance, was subjected to by a Cardinal Rivarola, who was sent thither by Leo the Twelfth to put down the secret societies, which, created for the subversion of the Government, were in fact subverting all law, order, and the very possibility of social life? Rivarola began by instituting a secret inquisition, and by surrounding himself by informers and spies. He forbade all the citizens to leave their habitations by night without a lanthorn in their hand; the punishment for contravention to be awarded in each case arbitrarily. He threw people into prison without the smallest regard to social condition, to sex, to age, or to character. In 1825, on the 31st of August, he condemned 508 individuals—seven to death, thirteen to the galleys for life, sixteen for twenty years, four for fifteen years, sixteen for ten years, three for seven years, and others to shorter terms, or to longer terms of a less terrible kind of imprisonment. Besides these, 229 were condemned to police surveillance *of the first class*, and 157 to that *of the second class*. The former implied prohibition to leave the culprit's

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native place; the obligation to be in his own home by sunset, and not to leave it before sunrise; to present himself before an inspector of police every fifteen days; to go to confession once a month, and to prove having done so by the testimony of a confessor approved for the purpose by the Government; and lastly, to "make a retreat," as this ecclesiastical discipline is called, once in every year, for at least three days, in a convent designed for the purpose by the bishop. And as all these disabilities and duties were deemed to be good for anybody, a very slight indication of a suspicion of liberalism sufficed to place man, woman, or child on the list of those specially watched by the police. The punishment for disobeying any one of the above commands was imprisonment in the galleys for three years. The restrictions and burthens laid on those condemned to police surveillance of the second class were very little lighter; only the punishment for contravention was somewhat less severe. But as all these efforts to suppress Carbonarism were found insufficient, his Eminence published an ordinance condemning to death all heads and propagators of secret societies, *who should be known to* his Eminence as such, without any trial or form of proof whatsoever. The *knowledge* in question was supplied to the Cardinal by any spy or secret informer who thought fit to make a private statement to that effect!

Much distressed, however, at finding that his mode of governing had somehow or other produced much ill-will among the citizens, very notably at Faenza, where the *Carbonari* were called "dogs," and the *Sanfedisti*, or Pope's friends, were called "cats," when the whole population was either one or the other, and when the life was accurately described by the names the hostile parties had given themselves, the good Cardinal determined on a grand conciliatory measure, which should have the effect of healing at once, and for evermore, all these sad and unfortunate hatreds and dissensions. Under these circumstances, the Cardinal Legate determined that a number of young men and maidens of the opposite parties should be joined together in holy matrimony, as a public and striking testimony of reconciliation and general brotherhood and goodwill! He, the Cardinal, would furnish the girls with good dowers on the happy occasion! On these terms it was not difficult to find as many brides and bridegrooms as he wished.

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But—the efficacy of the plan, and the result of the marriages so formed, may be left to the imagination!

It was to such a government and such a society that Mastai returned from his Transatlantic travels, and in the midst of such maxims of government that he entered upon his career as a member of the governing caste.

Immediately on his return, he was appointed by his old friend, and now sovereign, Leo, to the office of Administrator of the Hospital of St. Michael. This is a vast establishment, situated at that part of the right bank of the Tiber which is called Ripa Grande. The scope of it is partly to afford a refuge to aged paupers, but mainly to receive abandoned or neglected children, and to teach them trades by which they may support themselves. Its first foundation was due to Innocent the Tenth, who died in 1655. The boast of Catholic writers that it is the most ancient institution of the kind in Europe is, therefore, absurd. But it is one of the largest. The foundation of Innocent the Tenth, intended for only a hundred boys, was enormously increased by subsequent Pontiffs; by Innocent the Twelfth, by the Eleventh and Twelfth Clements, and by Pius the Sixth. Peculation, mismanagement, and maladministration had reduced the establishment almost to a condition of bankruptcy, at the time when Leo the Twelfth confided the administration of it to the young Canon Mastai.

The hostile biographers declare that he was in this office guilty of cruelty to the children. The more devout among his eulogists assert that a complete restoration of financial prosperity was attained there by the administrative talents of the young Canon, and by the sacrifice of his entire patrimonial fortune to the object in view. Both statements are in all probability equally false. Pius the Ninth has never given the world any reason to believe that he is one who could be capable of being cruel to children. And his office gave him little opportunity of coming in contact with them, having been concerned with the financial administration rather than with the teaching or disciplinarian department of the establishment. The eulogistic statement about his patrimony, on the other hand, is due to French piety. No Italian writer, however devout, could have ventured to tell the Italians that the finances of the Hospital of St. Michael were helped on their way to prosperity by

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the sacrifice of the Mastai patrimony! Nor is it credible that the all but desperate condition of the finances of the hospital were placed on a sound and prosperous footing by Canon Mastai, because he retained his position as administrator but a few months. But it may be believed that he did his duty in the office with zeal, discrimination, and fair ability.

It was, however, a subordinate one; and though much about the same time the Canon Mastai received from Leo the Twelfth the *mantelletta* of the Prelature, he could not be said as yet to belong to the governing class of the priesthood, or to have any part in the government, which was so indefeasibly preparing the events with which he was to be subsequently called upon to deal.

In 1826 Leo sent Monsignore Tommaso Bernetti to carry the conventional message of congratulation to the Czar Nicholas, who had then recently succeeded to the Russian throne; and on his return he made him a Cardinal; and in the January of 1827 named him Secretary of State in place of Monsignore della Somaglia, whom he had appointed to that post at his accession. It was an improvement; for della Somaglia was an aged man, who, however devout and exact in the practices enjoined by his religion, was wholly ignorant of public affairs, devoid of the most elementary notions of the art of governing men, and possessed of no other knowledge of human nature than such as could be acquired in a cloister or a sacristy.

Bernetti, on the contrary, though every inch a priest, and a zealous partisan of the political independence of the Pope's temporal power—without which qualifications he would assuredly never have become Leo the Twelfth's Secretary of State—was a shrewd and perspicacious man, who understood, as well as it is given to a priest to do, the general state of Europe; and, while feeling the necessity of keeping on good terms with Austria, was by no means disposed to trust the fate of the Papacy wholly to that dangerous friend. He, like his master, was always on the alert to combat "the enemies of the throne and of the altar" on any field on which battle with them might be done. But although the Pope publicly blessed the Austrian troops as they passed through Rome on their way northwards returning from Naples, it was no secret that neither Leo nor his secretary looked with a very friendly eye on the somewhat

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free-and-easy marchings of Austrian troops through his dominions.

The general result of the five* years' government of Leo the Twelth are well summed up in the following passage from the above-quoted work of Carlo Farini:

"Truth requires that it should be told that during the reign of Leo and the government of Bernetti various good and useful things were done. Many abuses were removed, and the authors of them punished. An attempt was made to set in order the hospitals and other charitable institutions of Rome. Roads, bridges, and other public works were begun or brought to a conclusion. Public security was restored to parts of the country which had been previously infested by brigands.† Expenses were curtailed, and the taxes diminished. A sufficient sinking fund was created for the gradual extinction of the national debt. These were benefits which might have strengthened the Pontifical authority by the love and gratitude of its subjects, if the people had been contented by endowing them with institutions and civil laws, even such as were enjoyed by the subjects of other absolute monarchies, and if they had not been accompanied by excessive severity and political injustice. But the attempt to steer the ship of the State against the currents that were running in the world to the profit of a caste, the discouragement of all the most noble and precious increments of civilisation, the honour paid to the infamous trade of the informer, the suspicions against and vilifying of knowledge aud science, prevented the people from having any consciousness of the good that the Government did in other respects, and caused the evils to be felt all the more acutely, by the comparison suggested with other States, and specially with the neighbouring Tuscany, where the new Grand Duke Leopold the Second was proceeding in the path of his father and his grandfather. And those ill-regulated and violent crusades against the Liberals; that clothing the inquisitor with the forensic cap, and the judge with the cowl; that mixing together religion and politics; that

* More accurately five years, four months, and thirteen days.

† The writer seems here to be willing to attribute to Leo's government a merit which can hardly be said to have belonged to it. It may be credited with the wish and the attempt to do what the historian considers to have been done.

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confounding the priest and the gendarme; that placing of the throne above the altar, rendered the Government and the priestly caste odious to the educated classes, to the young who aspired to a better future, and to the laity in general, which rebelled in its heart against this priestly tyranny."*

It was into the administration of a government informed by by these ideas and principles that the future Pontiff was now about to be initiated; for before the end of the year 1827 the Canon Giovanni Mastai was named by Leo the Twelfth to the Archbishopric of Spoleto.

* "Lo Stato Romano dall' anno 1815 al 1850," per Carlo Farini, ch. ii. p. 24.

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CHAPTER IV.

MASTAI AT SPOLETO.—CONDITION OF THAT DIOCESE.—ACCOUNTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIOCESE.—ELECTION OF PIUS THE EIGHTH.—HIS GOVERNMENT.—CARDINAL ALBANI.—JULY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.—ITS EFFECTS ON ITALY.—PLANS OF ITALIAN LIBERALS.—DUKE OF MODENA.—CIRO MENOTTI.—CONCLAVE FOR THE ELECTION OF A SUCCESSOR TO PIUS THE EIGHTH.—ELECTION OF GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH.—HIS CHARACTER.—COMPLEXION OF THE TIMES.—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.—CONDUCT OF FRANCE.—PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION.—IMBECILITY OF THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT.—THE INSURRECTION AT SPOLETO.—CONDUCT OF AUSTRIA.—REPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION.—MASTAI'S CONDUCT TOWARDS THE INSURGENTS.—ANECDOTE OF HIS INTERVIEW WITH A POLICE AGENT.—HIS PROMOTION TO THE SEE OF SMOLA.

THE young Archbishop—he was only thirty-four when he received the promotion—remained at Spoleto about five years, till the 17th December, 1832. It was a bad and unhappy time for Italy, and specially for the people of the Pontifical dominions. But Mastai was favourably situated: his small and unimportant diocese was less than most other parts of the States of the Church exposed to the vicissitudes produced by the efforts of the populations, to escape from the tyranny which was squeezing the life out of them. Not that he and Spoleto entirely escaped the consequences of the conspiracies and insurrections which were continually bursting out like the jets from the surface of a volcanic mountain in a state of eruption, and which indicated an analogous condition of the social masses from which they were upheaved; but Spoleto and its district were in a less degree exposed to them. The ancient city, once the capital of all the Umbrian lands in days previous even to the pre-eminence of Etruscan Perugia, looks down from its torrent-washed rock on the lower slopes of the Monte Luco—a name the significance of which is still perpetuated by the wealth of forest on the mountains above Spoleto—on the valley watered by the Maroggia, along which the way from Rome to the north passes

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towards Perugia. But so steep is the mountain-side, and so rough and broken the rocky ground, that not even the old post-road entered Spoleto, but contented itself with passing by in the valley below. The diocese extends over a poor country almost entirely mountainous, and the inhabitants, not less miserably ill-governed than those of the turbulent Romagnese and Emilian Legations, but too barbarous and ignorant to be equally aware of the causes of their wretchedness, took little or no part in the more dangerous movements of the time.

The two first years of the new Archbishop's incumbency passed quietly and uneventfully. The adulatory biographers of a subsequent day paint rose-coloured pictures of the wonderful results of his zealous and able administration. The rule of his predecessor in the diocese is represented as having been abominable, in order that, starting from a lower level, the altitude of his successor's excellence may appear the greater. Everything had fallen into neglect, everything was wrong throughout all the diocese. No man did his duty. Few had any idea that there was any such thing as duty to be done. Mastai came, and all was changed. Within two years everything was put right, and all the governmental machine functioned with the utmost regularity and perfection! Old, lazy, and incapable functionaries were replaced by younger and more zealous men; and not only the bad, but the useless remnants of an effete and do-nothing administration were rooted out everywhere. And yet, we are assured, so judiciously, so kindly, with such tact and good management was this done, that it was all accomplished without making any enemies, or creating any discontent or ill feeling! How many ministers and rulers of all sorts would fain be permitted to learn the secret of the fortunate Archbishop's management!

Of course all these laudatory statements must be taken with a good many grains of salt. Very little accessible record remains of the Archbishop's life at Spoleto, or of his gestion of his spiritual functions there. But it may, perhaps, be concluded that if the kingdom is happy which has no history, the archbishopric which is in the same predicament is no less so. There are many stories told of the Archbishop's abounding charity (in the almsgiving sense) in a strain which does not invite implicit credence to the accuracy of the details, which are given in pic-

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turesque abundance. But it may be believed that the youthful Archbishop did his duty in the position in which he found himself to the best of his lights and capacity, and that he expended in alms a considerable portion of the small revenue of the See.

Leo the Twelfth died on the 10th February, in the year 1829, when Monsignore Mastai had occupied his Archbishopric little more than a year; and Cardinal Francesca Saverio Castiglioni, of Cingoli, a little town in the Marches, was elected Pope, by the name of Pius the Eighth, on the 31st of March of the same year. Few and evil were the days of Pius the Eighth on the throne. He reigned just twenty months, having died on the 30th of November in the year 1830. He began his reign amid the continually increasing discontent and disaffection of his subjects; and he left to his successor an immediate hand-to-hand struggle with the spectre of the revolution. Little more is known of Pius the Eighth, save that, like his predecessor, his only idea of government was repression. But it may be judged from his immediate appointment of Cardinal Albani as Secretary of State, that, despite the Guelphism of Leo the Twelfth, it was becoming apparent in the regions of the Curia Romana that safety was to be found only under the shadow of Austrian protection. Albani was a man of some ability, whose outlook into the world had been a somewhat wider one than that of most of his colleagues of the Sacred College. But it had not been wide enough to enable him to perceive that the path he was determined to pursue—rigorous repression, absolute refusal of all concession to liberal ideas and demands, and trust, in case of the worst, to Austrian bayonets in the background,—led fatally to an abyss. Or if he did perceive that certainty, he was contented with the hope that things would last as they were for his time, and with the classic "*Après moi le déluge*," which has been attributed to his Austrian protector and friend.

Pius the Eighth, infirm and in bad health when elected, was hastening to quit the scene which for him was so troubled an one. But events hurried onward more rapidly than he. His life had yet four months to run, when the July "ordinances" hurled Charles the Tenth from the throne of France with a thunder-clap of revolution that shook every throne in Europe save our own. And it was impossible that such a shock should fail to cause an explosion in such a state of the body social as existed

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in the Papal dominions. There, especially in the provinces of the Adriatic coast, the whole atmosphere was filled with revolution, like the sky with pulsing summer lightning on a sultry evening. Had the disaffected possessed any well-considered plan of action, or even any combined and common understanding of what they desired, the Papacy could hardly have at that time succeeded in quelling the movement. "There existed," says a contemporary historian,* "no well-considered plan. Some wished to place the sons of Beauharnais at the head of the Italian movement; others, some Italian prince; and others, again, had plans differing from either of these. The conspirators of the Roman States were for the most part Voltairians, or indifferentists in regard to religion, materialists in philosophy, and almost all of them constitutionalists in politics,—some after the French, some after the Spanish model. Few had any well-defined notions of any philosophical or national system. The greater number thought only of destroying! Of building-up they thought it would be time to take heed afterwards, if only in the meantime the priests and the Sanfedisti should get the worst of it, and the hated Government be overturned.

There was a very strong and widely current idea in liberal circles at that time that Francis the Fourth, Duke of Modena, was disposed to place himself at the head of the revolutionary movement, doubtless with the hope (if he really had any such notion) of becoming the constitutional sovereign of Italy. He was certainly in intimate communication with a certain Ciro Menotti. And there are grounds for supposing that Austria was watching him with distrustful and suspicious eyes. It is a page of history which needs further elucidation than it has yet received. What is certain, however, is that Duke Francesco perceived that he was in a dangerous position in time to draw back, and became one of the most ferocious of the enemies of all liberalism, and liberalizers, and that Ciro Menotti, having learned, not in time, the danger of putting his trust in princes, was put to death.

But the rapid development of the revolutionary conflagration, which followed the French July revolution, seems to have had a paralysing effect on the Pontifical Government. The

* Carlo Farini, Op. cit., ch. iii., vol. i.

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Sanfedisti were disheartened; the liberals were increasing in courage, and little outbreaks of insurrection were appearing here and there on all sides, like an eruption of the skin telling of the fevered state of the blood below the surface! And the Apostolic Government did nothing. In truth the Pope was dying, and this may have been a reason for the apparently benumbed condition of the Government, in a state in which no man could tell, or even guess, to whom might fall the task of dealing with the difficulties of the hour. And in the midst of this condition of things on the 30th of November the Pope died.

His successor could not be got elected till the 2nd of February, 1831. The Cardinals went into conclave on the 14th of December, and took all the rest of that month and the whole of the next to complete their task. And then they made about the worst choice that it was practically open to them to make. There was not, in all probability, a man in the Sacred College who was less capable of achieving even that bad best which it might have been possible to achieve, under the overwhelmingly difficult circumstances of the case. The diplomatic body at Rome intrigued, after the traditional fashion, for Cardinal Pacca, who was at least a man not without some knowledge and experience of men, and of the general aspect of the political world, and who would probably have been the best choice they could make. The party of the *Zelanti* in the Conclave—by which phrase is to be understood what we might *mutatis mutandis* call the High Church party, the men who were priests first and men and Italians afterwards, the thorough-going nail-your-colours-to-the-mast men—these *Zelanti* wished to elect Cardinal Giustiniani, who had been Nuncio at Madrid, and was one of the most uncompromising sticklers for the old order of things in its untouched entirety. On the evening of the 7th of January he had twenty-one votes, and everything seemed to indicate that a few more repetitions of the scrutiny would give him the required majority.* But on the morning of the 9th, Cardinal Mauro, the Spanish Ambassador to the Apostolic Court, announced to the Cardinals that he had received special

*The Conclave upon this occasion consisted of forty-five cardinals. Thirty-one votes—two-thirds plus one -were therefore needed to make an election.

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instructions from his Government to exclude his Eminence Giustiniani. It is curious, and not without significance, to remark how very frequently it has occurred that the "veto" has been given against candidates for the Papacy by the Courts to which they have been accredited as Nuncios.

There have been times—and such may be seen again !—when the "veto" which exists *of right* only in the case of Portugal, which has never once used it, has been passed over and disregarded. But the Conclave which assembled on the death of Pius the Eighth, was not in the least likely to adopt any such high-handed course. Giustiniani, on receiving this "veto" from his old friends the Spaniards, set himself to support Cardinal Cappellari, the Camaldolese monk, who eventually became Gregory the Sixteenth, with all his influence. The other and more reasonable party, the party supported by the representatives of the Catholic Powers of Europe, was, however, still strong; and the struggle continued all that month of January, till, on reaching nearly the end of it, the scrutiny showed twenty-four votes for Cappellari, and eighteen for Pacca. Then Albani, the late Secretary of State, who had been hitherto a staunch member of the diplomatic party, and a supporter of Pacca, either wearied out by the length of the Conclave, or, as is more probable, foreseeing that, whereas he was still in time to have the credit of making the Pope, he would, if he delayed his conversion, see the Pope made in despite of him, and therefore hostile to him, joined the party of the *Zelanti;* and on the morning of the 2nd of February, Cappellari had the necessary thirty-three votes, and was elected as Gregory the Sixteenth.

The joy-bells, that proclaimed his election to his subjects, rung out the knell of the temporal power of the Papacy.

I believe, however, that in the opinion of most persons on the northern side of the Alps, and of the younger generation on this side also, such a statement would be deemed erroneous. It would probably be maintained by most persons, that a more judicious line of conduct on the part of Gregory's successor might yet have averted, or at all events deferred, the loss of the temporal crown. Opportunities of looking at the course of events, and the movement of men's minds in Italy very closely for the last five and thirty years, have led me to think differently.

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It must not be forgotten, also, that the generation of men which finally determined that their country should no longer be ruled by a theocracy, were bred and educated under the pontificate of Gregory; as the Jesuit Father Curci very significantly observes, in the remarkable preface to his "Lectures on the Gospels," lately delivered and published in Florence.

The Camaldolese monk, who became Gregory the Sixteenth, was a grossly ignorant man, and as narrow-minded a man as a monk could be. It is said by his defenders that he was very learned in canon law. He might as well have been a perfect master of the Chinese code of etiquette, for any service such learning could afford him in the difficulties of the task before him. He is reported to have been good-natured. But his good-nature never availed to check the cruelties which his Government considered necessary for repressing the discontent occasioned by his uniform refusal to ameliorate any portion of the system which was crushing the life out of his subjects. He was not a bigot; for his nature was too earthly to afford any fuel for the fire of spiritual passions. And during his reign of a few months over fifteen years, that spiritual power, by virtue of which more or less efficaciously underlying the temporal power, the latter has under many difficulties, during all these centuries, alone contrived to exist, was altogether lost. The temporal power, visibly, unmistakably, avowedly resting on Austrian bayonets, was the only power Gregory the Sixteenth wielded. Pius the Ninth, the circumstances of the world aiding him, has undeniably recovered a large amount of really spiritual power. And the temporal power of an old priest, ruling over a small territory of unwarlike subjects, can exist only by the aid of a large addition of spiritual power. And this Gregory the Sixteenth wellnigh killed, or perhaps it would be more just to say, lacked the capacity to restore to life, or to prevent the last lingering sparks of it from dying. But while thus criticising Gregory, his character, and the results of his Papacy, it is just to admit that the times in which his lines were cast were such as to make the duties of the position assigned to him arduous and difficult to the last degree. The interests of the Papacy, whether regarded as a religious institution or as the secular government of the provinces subjected to it, imperatively needed that the Conclave which elected Gregory the Sixteenth should,

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were it possible, select a man sufficiently instructed in the general tendencies and movement of the times to be able to judge what was possible, and what not possible, as regarded the maintenance of the Papal spiritual as well as temporal pretensions; a man of sufficiently enlarged intelligence to eliminate the non-essential in questions of religious practice and doctrine; and lastly, one who was a sufficiently zealous and earnest bishop of souls to make the apparent requirements of his princely power bend where needful to the permanent and larger interests of his Church. It is hardly necessary to say that Gregory had not the smallest *scintilla* of any of these qualities. The Sacred College made probably about the worst choice they could have made.

Yet the voices that should have warned them were sounding loudly enough! While the Conclave was sitting, conspiracy against the yet unchosen sovereign was rife, not only in the provinces, but under the very noses of the Cardinals in Rome.

The history of unsuccessful conspiracies is necessarily obscure; but sufficient records of the tentatives which, though crushed by merciless repression, prepared the way for the revolution which has deprived the Papacy of its kingship, are yet attainable to permit the story of them to be written, if this were the place to do it. But it is impossible to compress the scattered and very varied details of it into the few paragraphs, which is all that could here be given to the subject. The Ciro Menotti who has been already mentioned, and who was the proprietor of a straw-hat manufactory, in which the Duke of Modena was to some extent a partner,* was the most prominent leader in the conspiracy which disturbed the first years of Gregory the Sixteenth. And it seems certain that it was he who, travelling in Tuscany for the purposes of the conspiracy, first proposed to Napoleon and Luigi Buonaparte, the sons of the ex-King of Holland, to join in the movement.

Of course, the fact that Austria had an army in Lombardy ready to march at a day's notice was not omitted from the con-

* It seems possible that the frequent meetings between the Duke and Menotti, from which the belief that the former was in truth at the head of the conspiritors was mainly generated, had reference solely to the affairs of this partnership. On this part of the subject, however, it is not likely that any further light will be obtained.

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siderations of the conspirators when calculating the chances of success. But the new Government of France which sprung from the July revolution had proclaimed aloud the principle of non-intervention. A committee of Italian refugees residing in Paris had been formed immediately on the outbreak of Parisian insurrection, with the view of causing the revolutionary movement to spread itself to Italy; aud this committee consulted sundry notable persons in Paris, whose replies led them to believe that France would, at need, cause the principle of non-intervention, which had equally been recognised by England,* to be respected. Genay, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Florence, and Latour Maubourg, French Minister at Naples, were also consulted, and both were of opinion that the Italians might rely securely on the determination of France to permit no intervention by Austria in the affairs of Central and Southern Italy. More authoritative declarations fatally fostering the same delusion were not wanting. Sebastiani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking in the French Chamber of Deputies on the 27th of January, declared that "the Holy Alliance was founded on the principle of intervention, which was fatal to the independence of all the secondary States; but that France had consecrated the contrary principle and *would know how to cause it to be respected*, and the independence and liberty of all to be secured." †

It is true that the Italians had been similarly deceived by French assurances sufficiently often to make the trust that was placed in them on this occasion, to the loss of very many lives, the ruin of very many families, and much and widespread misery, exceedingly imprudent. But it is in the nature of conspirators to be imprudent; and these men trusted and were miserably deceived.

Gregory the Sixteenth was elected on the 2nd of February. The conspirators had fixed the 5th as the day when the insurrection was to commence in Modena, selected as the scene of the first attempt because the Duke was even exceptionally hated, and his means of resistance comparatively small. The

* Speech of Lord Grey. See An. Hist. 1870, part ii. ch. viii.

† See *Moniteur*, 28th January, 1831. See, also, the declarations of Recchi, Manzoni, Fragani, and Zappi in the *Courier Français* of the 30th June, 1831.

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Duke, having succeded in surprising and capturing Menotti, ran away to Mantua, within the Austrian frontier, taking his prisoner with him, reserved for future vengeance. But the ramifications of the conspiracy were very much too widely spread for the revolt to be nipped in the bud by the arrest of the chief conspirator. Instructions broke out in Reggio, Parma, Guastalla, and other cities. Within the limits of the Papal States the important city of Bologna fell into the hands of the insurgents so entirely that a provisional government was formed, and had undisputed possession of the city and province. The contagion of revolt spread like wildfire. Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Ravenna, Ferrara, Pesaro, Urbino, all rebelled against their ecclesiastical rulers on the 5th of February, the day first named for the outbreak at Modena. Before the end of February the whole of the Marches were in open revolt, and the movement had spread thence to Perugia and the province of Umbria.

In Perugia an incident occured which indicates in a very striking manner the wonderful ignorance of the ecclesiastics who formed the Government at Rome as to the real condition of the public mind and the temper of the times. The Delegate of Perugia, as the highest papal authority in the province was called, was striving, in face of the popular insurrection, to arm a "national guard," in which those only should be enrolled and armed whose sentiments were known to be favourable to the Government. As might have been predicted, the measure was a failure. Candidates for admission into the ranks of the civic force were abundant enough; but the filtering process, which it was hoped would include the friends of the authorities and shut out their enemies, broke down altogether. And the unfortunate Delegate was struggling with these difficulties when an order arrived from Rome "to arm the population *en masse* on the approach of the insurgents from the north!" It was actually believed at Rome, while insurrection was spreading like wildfire through every province of the papal dominions, that "the mass of the population" were ready to fight for their sacerdotal rulers! The consternation of the unhappy Delegate may be imagined. Of course, he saw that the game was up, and at the bidding of a "provisional government," gave up the fortress into their hands.

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Monsignore Giovanni Mastai, meanwhile, was looking out at the all important election consummated at Rome, and at the wild confusion and anarchy in the provinces of the Adriatic coast and Umbria, from the comparative tranquillity of the rock of Spoleto. It was not long, however, before the advancing tide of the revolution overtook him there too. On the 13th of that same February emissaries from the already revolted cities insisted that the Delegate should enroll and give arms to a national guard. He resisted as long as he could, and then, quitting the city secretly, ran away to Rieti. The Archbishop, very characteristically, thinking that his eloquence would avail where the Delegate's more material resistance had failed, endeavoured to persuade the malcontents to abandon their purpose—in vain, as might be supposed—and then he too shook the dust off his shoes against the perverse city, and ran away to Leonessa in the Abruzzi.

Meantime the insurgents of the northern provinces were advancing towards Rome, and had reached Terni, where they were joined by Napoleon and Luigi Buonaparte coming out of Tuscany. It was from Terni that the former of the two wrote that memorable letter to Gregory the Sixteenth, warning him that "the forces marching upon Rome were invincible; that he therefore counselled the Pope to abandon his temporal power," and concluding by stating that he "waited for an answer"!

Of course the answer was an appeal to Austria (19th of February), to which that power responded with alacrity. The Princes of Modena and Parma had already made similar applications. Austria, in the first instance, questioned France respecting her intentions in case Austria saw fit to intervene for the purpose of tranquillising Italy. France replied that war was possible if Austria entered Modena, probable if she passed the frontier of the Papal States, certain if she entered Piedmont. But this was the reply of Lafitte,* who ceased to be Minister on the 8th March. He was succeeded by Perrier, who held that France should indeed uphold the principle of non intervention, but only by "moral influence."† Austria

* President of the Council in the Chamber of Deputies, 15th August, 1831, and on 20th January, 1832.

† Annuaire Hist., 1831, part ii. ch. v.

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understood that she was at liberty to restore "order" throughout the peninsula; that Italian Liberals understood that they had been betrayed to their destruction; and it only remained to execute such vengeance on the rebels and conspirators as might, it was hoped, avail to prevent any other such outbreak for awhile.

France indeed "protested" (27th March, 1831), but it was after the Austrian bayonets had done their work. Already previously (26th March, 1831), the Emperor of Austria had ordered the recall of his troops to his own bank of the Po, leaving only such garrisons as were necessary "at the disposition of the Pope," and to be sent away by him whenever he should think fit.

As it was impossible to narrate in the space available in this volume the rise and progress of the rebellion, so any attempt to give an account of the means taken for the punishment of the authors of it must be abandoned. The Apostolic Government laid claim to the praise of exceeding moderation and clemency. And in truth without exercise of such, the Holy Father would have depopulated his provinces. But the pursuit of the culpable was very persistent, and the meed of punishment more than sufficiently sanguinary.

Italian biographers of Pio Nono, writing when he was at the summit of popularity at the beginning of his reign, relate that the rebellion never reached Spoleto—that the Archbishop's good management, conciliatory conduct, and eloquence succeeded in maintaining peace in his diocese. This is not true, as has already been seen. But it does appear to be true that he acted towards those compromised by the rebellion in a spirit of kindness, Christian charity, and indulgence, which was shared by few of his colleagues in similar positions. It is related that a body of the insurgents driven before the Austrian troops like chaff before the wind, threw themselves, to the number of nearly five thousand, into Spoleto. The Austrians were only a few leagues behind them. "The Archbishop," writes one of these authors,* "intimated to the Austrians to stop!" He then addressed the fugitive insurgents with such moving eloquence that he induced them to lay down their arms

* "Pio Nono, e l'Italia, Milano, 1848."

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and make submission, and then prevailed upon the Austrian general to depart in peace. Very little eloquence, it may be surmised, was needed to prevail upon the fugitives to "lay down their arms," and the whole story may be safely assumed to be apocryphal. But there is reason to believe that Archbishop Mastai did what he could to save many of the insurgents from their pursuers. And there is one story which has acquired a great degree of currency, and may very likely be true.

It is said that when the pursuit after those who had been compromised in the rebellion was very hot, a police agent, who had expended immense zeal and labour on the completion of a list of them, brought the paper in much triumph to the Archbishop. The latter, standing by the fire as he carefully read the document, looked with a smile, as the story goes, into the face of the agent, when he had conned it; and saying, "My good friend, you do not seem to have any idea of your own trade—or of mine! When the wolf is about to make a raid upon the fold, he does not begin by telling the shepherd," quietly dropped the fatal paper into the fire. It is added that this method of playing the part of a bishop did not at all satisfy Gregory the Sixteenth, and that Monsignore Mastai was summoned to Rome to give an account of his conduct.

If the anecdote has any truth in it, it is certain that he did not find any great difficulty in making his peace with the Pontiff. For on the 17th of December, 1832, Monsignore Mastai was promoted to the Bishopric of Imola.

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CHAPTER V.

PROMOTION TO THE BISHOPRIC OF IMOLA—CONDITIONS OF THE SEE—MAINSPRING IN THE CHARACTER OF MASTAI.—HIS CONDUCT AT IMOLA, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIOCESE.—CONTRADICTIONS AND CONTRASTS IN THE ACCOUNTS.—HIS EFFORTS AND MEASURES FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CITY.—VAGABOND CHILDREN.—PROVISION FOR SEMINARISTS.—SOCIAL DUTIES EXPECTED OF A BISHOP.—DIFFICULTIES IN PERFORMING THEM.—ANECDOTES OF HIS LIFE AT IMOLA.—THE STORY OF THE JUDGE MONTANI.—INSINCERITY OF MASTAI'S CHARACTER.—AN INCIDENT OF THE CARNIVAL OF 1846 AT IMOLA.—ANECDOTE OF THE GONFALONIERE OF IMOLA AND THE BISHOP.

On the 17th of December, 1832, as has been said, Monsignore Giovanni Mastai was promoted by Gregory the Sixteenth from the Archbishopric of Spoleto to the Bishopric of Imola. "Promotion" from an archbishop to a bishopric appears strange to English ideas, which still attach a meaning to ecclesiastical terms more in accordance with their original significance than is the case in Italy. But in Italy the case is not uncommon. The fact of the matter is simply that the diocese of Imola is a much more important one than that of Spoleto, and the revenues of it were considerably larger. And to the latter circumstance doubtless was due the fact that it was a received thing among the prescriptions of the Curia Apostolica, that the incumbent of the see of Imola should be considered as entitled to a Cardinal's Hat. The promotion from Spoleto to Imola therefore opened to Mastai, in his fortieth year, the door to the supreme power in the Church.

Imola, situated on the old Flaminian road, on the coast of the Adriatic, a little to the southward of Bologna, in the midst of a fertile plain, is the centre of one of the richest, instead of one of the poorest, districts of the Papal dominions, as Spoleto is. It is a far more active and more thriving, but also a more turbulent community, than that of stony little Spoleto, amid its mountains. Pius the Seventh had been Bishop of Imola.

There can be little doubt that Mastai was selected for the see of Imola because he had dealt successfully with the insurgents at Spoleto, and had won a certain amount of popularity

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with the Liberals. Gregory the Sixteenth might have been displeased with the Archbishop's summary method of dealing with the list of the compromised, which had been so carefully prepared by the agents of the police. But Imola was in the midst of the most disturbed and disaffected districts, and it was important to have a man there whose antecedents did not place him at a disadvantage in carrying out the conciliatory policy with which the Papal Government were attempting to efface the memory of the severities by which the revolt had been repressed.

And unquestionably the choice of Mastai for the purpose was a judicious one. He had at Spoleto shown himself as kind and merciful to the conquered rebels as the necessities of his position would admit; and in his new and more important post his heart was set on securing and increasing the popularity which was attached to his name. Conciliation was the order of the day; and Mastai desired nothing more than to make himself acceptable to the men of both parties.

For the mainspring of this man's character, the ruling passion, which has been the true moving power alike in every portion of his strangely varied career, is the love of approbation. It is a passion which is connected on its better side with many excellent and amiable qualities; and on its worser side with many that are the reverse. In Mastai's case it reached both uywards and downwards. It permeated his entire idiosyncracy. It prompted him to swagger, in the streets of Sinigaglia, with a cigar in his mouth and a fly-away crimson kerchief around his neck, and to summon an Œcumenical Council at the Vatican. It made him a melodramatic dandy in his youngster days, a melodramatic bishop in his manhood, and a melodramatic octogenarian Pontiff! The desire to figure advantageously before the eyes of men has never for an instant been dead within him. The scarlet cap and striped trousers of sixty years since might have been seen reproduced in the admirably artistic "get-up" which showed the fine-looking old man to the utmost advantage, when he received the Spanish pilgrims the other day.

The question of questions as regards a man thus eager for admiration, is, by whom is he anxious to be admired? By the great and good, or by the little and worthless? Is the *laudari*

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a laudato viro his passion, or merely the *laudari?* It is to be feared that the latter and simpler form of administering praise has always been, in default of better aliment, an acceptable gratification to the all-devouring vanity of Giovanni Mastai, as of Pius the Ninth. To be praised and admired by all men, women and children, has ever been as the breath of life to him. And the main direction of the course of his life has always been determined by the desire for it. Not that it is intended to be asserted that the sentiment of duty has been without influence on him. Far from it! But his conception of his duty, his modes of viewing the requirements of the various positions in which he has been placed, have been modified and coloured by the cravings for the applause of the audience before which he was performing.

There is no reason to doubt that he went to Imola fully purposing to do his duty in the difficult task assigned to him. He began by presenting himself to his new "audience" in full episcopal vestments, mitre and all, in the pulpit, having made his entry into the city, and proceeded "processionally" to the Cathedral, on the first day of Lent. The effect of so unusual a Bishop's "first appearance" made a prodigious effect. The Cathedral was crowded to its utmost capacity. And when the handsome new Bishop proceeded to address the multitude with his magnificent voice, which filled every angle of the building, speaking of the reforms which were needed in the diocese, and of his hopes to accomplish much good by the co-operation and assistance of those who heard him, he carried all the congregation with him, and had already done much towards making himself popular in the city. And if the Imolese were disposed to form a good opinion of their new Bishop, he was on his part delighted and excited by his reception, and retired amid the applause of the multitude to his episcopal palace, animated by a determination to do his utmost for the benefit of so dear and appreciative a population.

There are many stories told of his special acts of charity and beneficence at Imola, which are related in a tone having so strong a flavour of the *Acta Sanctorum*, that they do not seem, at least to heretic ears, to have the ring of truth in them; and we shall probably run little risk of committing injustice if we consider them to belong to the category of pious frauds. On

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the other hand, writers whose purpose of vilifying is as unmistakably pronounced as that of the authors on the other side is to glorify, relate, with all particulars of places and persons, a variety of scandalous historiettes, which would go to show that the Bishop had as little scruple in breaking his own vows as in inducing others, whose conduct it was his duty to watch over, to break theirs. But there is reason to believe that these stories have as little foundation in fact as those of an opposite character. And it is only fair to observe that those who have painted the Bishop of Imola as a saint, wrote much more immediately after the time to which their stories refer; while those who represent him as having been very much the reverse, are men who have written at a later day, when the Pope had become odious to Italian Liberals. Honestly, I believe the one class of writers and the other to be equally unscrupulous and untrustworthy.

Upon the whole there is, I think, little reason to doubt that he here also discharged the functions to which he had been appointed zealously and conscientiously. Certainly he exerted himself to ameliorate the condition of the poorest classes of the community in the city. "In Imola at that time," we are told,* "there were a great number of abandoned children, who passed the days and nights on the steps of the churches and other public buildings, holding out the hand of beggary to the passer-by, and amid the surroundings of so abject a life, lost to every sentiment of morality and decency." There is no reason whatever to believe that Imola, a comparatively small city in the midst of an agricultural district, could have been worse in this respect than the other cities of the peninsula generally. Beggary is, in truth, the canker of all of them, especially in the ex-Papal States. But the state of things may probably have been worse there than at Spoleto, which is the centre of a much sparser population. At all events, the new Bishop was struck by the deplorable spectacle, as his predecessors had not been, and he set himself to remedy it. He put aside a thousand crowns to provide board and lodging for these outcasts, and appointed seven ecclesiastics and as many sisters of charity to go through the city continually, gather all such vagabond

* "Pio Nono e l'Italia," p. 61.

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children, and place them in the workshops of responsible persons in order that they might be taught some trade or handicraft. Further, as a prize for such of his little pensioners as showed themselves most willing to turn the opportunities afforded them to good account, he offered to clothe at his own cost the best among them. It will be observed that for the working of this beneficent and simple scheme, a little exercise of despotic absolutism was needed. During the thirteen years that Mastai was Bishop of Imola, from forty to sixty children were thus clothed every year.

He is remembered at Imola also for other good works, which do not belong to the category of the apocryphal. There is, or was, a large ecclesiastical seminary in the town, as in most other episcopal cities of Italy, which was much frequented by the sons of the small farmers of the surrounding district. The original and primary scope of this and other such seminaries was to educate children with a view to the priesthood; and the education given was wholly and exclusively adapted to that end. But it entirely suited the policy and ideas of the Pontifical Government that such schools should be the only ones used by the population for the acquirement of any instruction above the most elementary catechising, which in the great majority of cases failed to reach even the point of ability to read. In a social grade much higher than that for which such catechising was provided, it was at that time, and for many a year afterwards, deemed and maintained *totidem verbis*, that it was "shameful"—"*una cosa vergognosa*"—for a girl to know how to write, the theory being, that if she did she would infallibly profit by the capability to write love billets and make assignations! And it is intelligible that rulers, who took this view of human affairs and of their subjects, should have thought that their own sacerdotal agents were the only safe guardians of the dangerous tree of knowledge. Lads, therefore, who were in nowise intended for the ecclesiastical career were encouraged to attend the episcopal seminaries; and the practice of the people to send their sons to these establishments, and the vested rights claimed by the clergy in consequence, constitute at the present day one of the greatest difficulties which the Italian Minister of Public Instruction has to contend with. The farmers around Imola used to send their

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sons, not as inmates, but as day-scholars, to the episcopal seminary. And the parents, on their farms, at a distance from the town, had of course very little means of exercising any control over the boys thus sent into the town. And the streets were infested accordingly by crowds of young truants, getting into mischief of all sorts and picking up an education worse even than that which they would have obtained at the seminary. The Bishop set himself therefore to remedy this evil also; and with this view caused a building to be erected in the immediate vicinity of the seminary, where an asylum and a meal was provided for these scholars from the country at a very moderate charge.

In another department of the duties which belonged to his office, it may readily be believed that Mastai was, as his eulogists assert, eminently successful. It was one for which he was especially well adapted.

Under an ecclesiastical government the functions of a Bishop are naturally more extensive than we, or the Italians of the present day, are in the habit of considering them. He was expected to preside not only over the Church, but over the city to which he was appointed; to be the leader of society as well as the head of his clergy. And in the days when Gregory the Sixteenth sat on the papal throne, and Mastai was Bishop of Imola—disaffected, turbulent, rebellious Imola—this duty became at once an important and a difficult one. The Papal Government had repressed the revolt by the aid of Austrian bayonets, and when left to deal at its discretion with the enemies which its own strength had been insufficient to quell, it had shown little mercy in striking the prostrate. But the work was now done, or the Government flattered itself that it was done, and conciliation was the order of the day. Not only the punishments inflicted by the Government, but in a yet greater degree the modes by means of which those punishments had been awarded and distributed—the wholesale use of espionage and secret information—had left a crop of hatreds aud vengeance only waiting for an opportunity to sate itself, which made the principal feature and characteristic of the society of the time.

To smooth these away, to bring the opposing parties together so far as it might be found possible, and to preach by

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every available means the doctrine of "Let bygones be bygones!"—this was what was expected of the Bishop of Imola, and what, as may be believed, he in some degree succeeded in achieving. It was a work well adapted to his powers. To be the common mediator, to be the friend and adviser of all parties, and to be popular alike with Liberals and Retrogrades, this was his ambition and his aim, pursued, not always, yet frequently successfully. His reception rooms at the episcopal palace were open equally to men of all parties; and sometimes social ingredients unmixable enough would meet there.

There was a story current in the early days of his papacy which was, as is within the memory of the present writer, very generally believed, and which would go to show both that the Bishop's drawing-room was not altogether a safe social atmosphere for the Liberals, and that the old accusations of insincerity which meet one again and again at different points of the Pontiff's career, are not unfounded in fact. It is certain that the Bishop's course of conduct at Imola earned for him a character for Liberalism which, as will presently be seen, all but cost him the Papacy; and that it was the high ecclesiastical and retrograde party in the city which was discontented with his conduct, not so much in the administration of the see as in his social relations. Yet the story I am alluding to seems to prove that his real sympathies were rather with them than with their opponents. It is related that, among the Liberal frequenters of the Bishop's *salons*, there was a judge of some subsidiary tribunal, whose known sympathies with the Liberal party made him exceedingly apprehensive that he might be turned out of his place by the authorities at head-quarters. He had a wife and children, and was a very poor man. A little while previously he would certainly never have dreamed of applying to a Bishop for his good offices; but Mastai's open house and open manners led him to think that this Bishop was not as other Bishops were, and, in a word, he determined to ask the kindly prelate to say a good word for him at Rome. The Bishop received him with the most effusive kindness. "To be sure, my good Montani!"—Bernardo Montani the judge's name was—"why, you are the sort of man we want in these days; of course—I shall be only too happy! A line to Bernetti"—Bernetti was Gregory the Sixteenth's Secretary of State—"a

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line to Bernetti will put all that matter straight. So you think of going to Rome yourself? Yes; that will be the best plan. When do you start? To-morrow evening! Very good. Come to me to-morrow about mid-day, and you shall find the letter ready for you!"

So the judge bows himself out with a torrent of thanks insufficient to express his overflowing gratitude, makes his preparations for the journey—which was a long and tedious affair in those days—and waits upon the good Bishop punctually at noon on the next day.

As he passes into the Bishop's study he sees two letters exactly like each other lying, one on a console table near the door, and the other on the Bishop's writing-table. The Bishop, very busy and in a great hurry, far too much pressed for time to listen to his visitor's renewed protestations of gratitude, gives him the letter which was on the study-table, bids him good speed, and dismisses him with a benediction.

Montani started for Rome that night, but, as ill-luck would have it, fell ill on the road, had to lie up, and was detained for ten days. At the end of that time he resumed his Romeward journey, duly arrived at the end of it, and lost no time presenting himself, letter in hand, to the Cardinal Secretary. Not a little to his surprise, he was received with the most cordial kindness. Bernetti was too full of business—had no time for talking with a provincial magistrate, but assured him, with cordial hand-pressing, that it was all right! The dear, good Bishop of Imola had already written to him! Montani had but to return to his duties at Imola, and he would find everything arranged to his satisfaction. So the provincial puts himself into the diligence again, and as he jogged along wearily homeward at the post pace of four or five miles an hour, full of gratitude to the dear, good Bishop, and longing for the moment when he shall tell the wife at home that their troubles are over, he thought to himself that he would look at the Bishop's letter—which had remained in his hands when Bernetti had declared that it was unneeded, being merely a duplicate of the one he had already received by post from the Bishop—and see what it was which had operated such a miracle in his favour. He broke the seal, and read a communication which informed the Secretary of State that he, the Bishop,

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had found himself obliged to give a letter of recommendation to one Bernardo Montani; that the Secretary could well understand how, in the Bishop's difficult position, where it was necessary to at least appear to be all things to all men, such things could hardly avoided; but that the fact was that this Bernardo Montani was one of the most pestiferous Liberals in Imola, and if his Eminence the Secretary cound find any means by which the fellow could be prevented from ever showing his face in Imola again, he would do both the Bishop and the city a signal service!

The dear, good Bishop, in short, had made a mistake between his two letters—had sent by post that which had been intended to be handed to Montani, and had put into the judge's hands that which was intended to convey his real sentiments to the Cardinal Secretary!

I am afraid that those who best know the character of Pius the Ninth would consider this story, which was certainly very generally believed, to bear all the marks of probability. It is likely enough that the Bishop did deem the judge Montani a dangerous man, of whom Imola would be well rid. But he had not the moral courage to say so openly; he could not make up his mind to the loss of popularity, which would have been the price of his answering Montani's application by an expression of his true sentiments. So he endeavoured to accomplish the feat of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds by the expedient of a falsehood, which, it may be feared, has at no period of his life appeared to him a prohibitive price to pay for a desired advantage.

That the task assigned to him at Imola was, however, an arduous one, may be in some degree gathered from a very striking and melodramatic incident, which throws a curious light on the social conditions which were the product of the recent political disturbances. The circumstance occurred during the Carnival of the last year of his stay at Imola, 1846. It was late in the evening of one of the last days of the Carnival. All the city was in the streets, shouting, roaring, and enjoying the saturnalia in Italian fashion. Large numbers of masked figures were to be seen in all the thoroughfares, and especially in the open space in front of the western doors of the cathedral. The Bishop was at his devotions at a fald-stool in front of the high altar. It is highly characteristic of the man

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that he should have been there so occupied at such a time. He had a private chapel in his episcopal residence, where no crowd could intrude, and where he might have given himself up to his devotions in peace. Why should he have placed himself alone in the empty church, with the great west door open in front of the high altar, while a bacchanalian crowd were making night hideous with their revelry around the doors? Why? Any ballet-master or stage-manager could give you the answer at once. Because the *tableau* produced was a most effective one—because it was a telling situation! The mad crowd, in their hour of licensed revelry, are filling the piazza on the outside of the door. Their pastor, kneeling before the altar (with his episcopal vestments admirably arranged in the most graceful folds, it may be safely sworn), is interceding at the throne of grace for his misguided flock! Very effective indeed! But all of a sudden the interest of the spectacle is heightened by an incident which elevates the merely melodramatic situation into the realms of real tragedy. A sudden outcry is heard from the piazza. The well-known squeaking accents of the Carnival hubbub are in an instant changed for the outcry of many voices in a quite different tone. In a word, one masker had been stabbed to death by another on the very steps of the church! The masking days of carnival were always a great time for such gratification of stored-up grudges.

It cannot be doubted that the Bishop was unfeignedly sorry for the fate of the victim, and shocked at the crime. But it was a fine opportunity for the posture-making which is dear to the Pontiff's soul. He rises from his knees and comes out to kneel by the side of the dying man on the church steps, and so hears the last confession of a penitent in a *domino*, and shrives him amid a surrounding crowd disguised in their gay dresses of every colour of the rainbow!

There is another anecdote belonging to this period which tells more pleasantly for the Bishop than that story of the Liberal judge, but which is not less characteristic of the man. It would seem that the Bishop's difficulties consisted by no means solely in reconciling the minds of the Liberals among his flock. Every advance he made for that purpose was resented by the strong adherents of the Clerical party. And he had quite as much difficulty in keeping on good terms with them as with their opponents. One of the most violent of

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these enemies of the Bishop on the score of his too great liberality, was the "Gonfaloniere"—the mayor as we should say,—whose prejudices no efforts on the Bishop's part had been able to smooth away. But priest-like, he had not found it so difficult to ingratiate himself with the mayor's wife. The lady admired the saintly Bishop, and grieved much over the perversity of her husband, who would not be reconciled to so good a man! Under these circumstances, about a month before Gregory's death, the lady paid a visit to the Bishop, and laid before him a plan she had conceived for the reconciliation of the Mayor and the Bishop. She informed the latter that she was with child, and that if his Eminence—Mastai had been created Cardinal by Gregory the Sixteenth, in 1841,—would condescend to be the godfather of her child, all political differences would disappear before such an honour and such a tie.

"If that is all that is needed," said the Bishop, "I am perfectly ready to stand as godfather to your child."

"But that is not all the difficulty," returned the lady; "my husband will never be brought to make the request to you."

"Well, well!" rejoined the Bishop, "we won't let that stand in the way. If he won't ask me, I will ask him!"

Accordingly he took an early opportunity, a day or two afterwards, after a council concerning the affairs of a hospital, at which the two authorities had met each other, to take the Gonfaloniere aside, and after congratulating him upon the approaching event, told him that he should be happy to officiate as godfather. The Gonfaloniere, utterly taken aback, and forgetting himself in his amazement and annoyance, cried, "You! a Liberal! You godfather to my child! Never!" and with that he turned his back on the Bishop, who, Cardinal as he was, had to put up with the affront. Very shortly afterwards came the news of Gregory's death; and Cardinal Mastai left Imola for Rome, to attend the conclave in which, as we all know, he was elected Pope. And immediately after his election the Gonfaloniere of Imola received a note with these words, "You refused to have the Bishop of Imola for godfather to your son; will you accept the Bishop of Rome?"

Of course the Gonfaloniere hurried to Rome as fast as post-horses could carry him, and made his peace with the new Pontiff, who here again found an opportunity for "striking an attitude!"

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CHAPTER VI.

UNIVERSAL DISAFFECTION IN THE ROMAN STATES.—CARDINALS ON WHOM THE HOPES OF THE LIBERALS RESTED.—MARCO MINGHETTI.—PETITION TO THE CARDINALS.—PERIOD BETWEEN THE DEATH OF GREGORY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CONCLAVE.—QUESTION BEFORE THE SACRED COLLEGE.—RELIGIOUS FEELING HAD NO PART IN THE MOVEMENT.—NEXT CONCLAVE DIFFERENT IN THIS RESPECT.—CARDINAL MICARA.—HIS CHARACTER.—ANECDOTE OF HIM.—CARDINAL GIZZI.—ANECDOTE OF HIS CANDIDATURE.—GIZZI THE POPULAR FAVOURITE.—AUSTRIA'S UNREADINESS.—CARDINAL GAYSRUCK.—HIS BOOTLESS JOURNEY.—CONCLAVE EXPECTED TO BE A LONG ONE.

GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH was maintained on his throne during his reign of fifteen years and a quarter solely by the force of Austrian bayonets. The reports sent by the cardinals and prelates entrusted with the government of the various provinces to head-quarters at Rome, abundantly prove the truth of this assertion. To cite these here would occupy more space than could be allowed to the subject, and would be a manifold reiteration of the statement, that the entire population was irreconcilably hostile to the Apostolic Government.* The revolt had indeed been crushed by the enormously superior force of the Austrian troops. But disaffection was in no degree extinguished. Conspiracy was chronic in all the cities of the Pontifical dominions. Discovery, repression, and punishment were the principal occupations of the Papal Government and its agents during the whole of Gregory's reign, which may be said to have been one long struggle with conspiracy and revolution. The number of condemnations, in very many cases to death, which may be seen registered with the names of the victims in tables printed at the end of the second volume of the work referred to in the note, are alone sufficient to show that the

* The documents referred to will be found printed in the first part of the work of Sig. Achille Gennarelli, "Il Governo Pontificio e lo Stato Romano," in two vols. imp. 8vo., Prato, 1860.

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countries subjected to the government of the Apostolic Court were in a condition which could not have endured, but for the overpowering pressure of an external force.

Such was the condition of things when Gregory the Sixteenth died on the 1st of June, 1846. The periods intervening between the death of one pope and the election of his successor were always in old times marked by outbreaks of turbulence and lawlessness; and it might have been expected that, in the then condition of men's minds, the interregnum succeeding the death of Gregory would have afforded an opportunity not likely to have been neglected by those who were anxious for the overthrow of the Papal Government. The immediate effect of Gregory's death, however, was to produce a contrary result; and the fact is a remarkable proof of the reasonableness and moderation of the men who were influential with the masses of the people. The death of the Pope afforded a hope that better things might be expected from his successor. There were men in the Sacred College of whom it was hoped that they would, if elected, inaugurate an era of reforms and improvement. Cardinal Micara, Cardinal Gizzi, Cardinal Falconieri, Cardinal Soglia (who, as Bishop of Osimo, himself received the names to be attached to the petition which it was determined should be presented to the Conclave), and Cardinal Mastai, were such men. The petition in question was prepared and signed by a vast number of persons in all parts of the Apostolic dominions. First among those who took a leading part in promoting the movement in the important city of Bologna, I find the name of Marco Minghetti, who, young as he was, was mainly instrumental in influencing his fellow-citizens to adopt a path of moderation and legality. An historian,* writing a few years after the events here referred to, says that Marco Minghetti "exercised an increasing and beneficent influence on his fellow-citizens by his remarkable talent, by acquirements truly extraordinary at his time of life, by his natural eloquence, and by moral qualities which rendered him dear and valued by all." These words were written before the subject of them had attained any such position as might lead his contemporaries to flatter him.

* Gualterio, "Ultimi Revolgimenti Italiani," vol. iv. p. 753.

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The period of nine clear days which, according to papal prescription, elapsed between the death of the Pope and the commencement of the Conclave for the election of his successor, was a time of far more than usual anxiety, not only to the populations who were awaiting the appointment of their new ruler, but to the whole of Europe, and in a yet greater degree to the members of the Sacred College themselves. The conditions of the problem before them, so far as the general principles on which it had to be solved went, were marked with unusual clearness and distinctness. Were they to choose a man who, continuing, but with greater energy and more force of character than were his, the policy and traditions of the late Pontiff and his predecessors, would uphold the old principles and practices of despotic government with a high hand, conceding nothing to the spirit of the times, nothing to the demands of modern intelligence, and trusting to the irresistible material force of Austria? Or were they to select a man to rule over themselves and the Church whose antecedents made it probable that he would attempt at least to reform the administration, and conciliate the populations? This question divided the Sacred College broadly into two parties. But the matter in hand was, of course, infinitely complicated by questions and doubts as to the course most likely to secure either of these ends.

One thing which it is very necessary to bear in mind in considering this episode of the history of the Apostolic See, is that religious questions, religious sentiments, religious zeal, or religious doubts entered into the matter not at all. The religious question has of late years been so intimately connected with political questions of all sorts, and doctrinal matters have during the last quarter of a century occupied so large a part of the thought of all of us in considering the Papacy and the relations of civil society towards it, that the above fact is liable to be forgotten. Nobody, at the epoch of which I am speaking, wanted to gainsay any of the spiritual pretentions and positions of the Church, as they then were. Of all those who were anxious, some few to overthrow, but the vast majority to reform the ecclesiastical Government, none attacked or wished to attack the spiritual Pontiff. Their resistance was to the temporal ruler. It is true that the majority of these men were

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either freethinkers or, in much greater numbers, indifferentists, in matters of religion; but that was in no degree the motive of their conduct. The ease with which this part of the matter was passed over, or passed by, is a remarkable characteristic of the Latin races. A people of Teutonic race could not have been engaged in the attempt to throw off the yoke of a ruler whose claims went to the imposing of shackles in matters spiritual infinitely more intolerable than his temporal tyranny, without radically probing and questioning the grounds of the former. No such logical necessity pressed on the minds and consciences of the Italians. It was long since the Church had shown itself a rigorous persecutor of any who were willing to submit, without questioning or discontent, to its temporal rule. There appeared to be no urgent necessity for taking any trouble about throwing off a yoke which sits very lightly on Italian minds. Add to which, vast numbers of Italian "indifferentists" in matters of religion, when they are on the bed of death, feel the need of a priest to help them to pass the great gulf. Now, of course, everything is very different in these respects. It has been discovered that the spiritual and the temporal despotism are so mutually interdependent that one cannot be successfully resisted without resisting the other; and that religious doctrine has been fashioned into a very dangerous weapon for the overturning of all that Italy has accomplished in the temporal and political order of things.

It is in this respect that the next Conclave will most materially differ from the last. In many other respects the situation is very analogous. It is once again a question of "nailing colours to the mast," or "transaction;" of war to knife, or more or less sincere conciliation; of refusing to yield an inch, at the risk (denied to exist, however, by some of those who have to make the decision) of utter rout and overthrow, or of giving a little to preserve the rest. But the world has progressed since the death of Gregory the Sixteenth. Both parties to the great contest have thought much since that time. Both have examined what amount of under-pinning, in respect of postulate and theory, their respective systems require. And one result is that doctrinal questions contribute their quota to the considerations which will decide the result of the coming Conclave.

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The most remarkable among the Cardinals who have been mentioned above as those on whom the hopes of the Liberal party were fixed, was the Dean of the Sacred College, Ludovico Micara, the General of the Capuchins. Here is an account of his personal appearance by a contemporary writer :*

"Though well-nigh bedridden from extreme age, his mind was still vigorous and prompt, his blood always boiling, his tongue as ready and powerful as it had ever been. From out that pale and fleshless face, which was rendered more venerable by the whiteness of his hair and long beard, which, white as snow, came down to the middle of his breast, flashed two lightning-like eyes that seemed still full of youth, and accompanied the impetuous torrent of his eloquence with an expression at one moment of fervid earnestness, and at another of the bitterest sarcasm."

He was a man whose mind and sympathies were singularly compounded of the democratic instincts of a mendicant friar, and the autocratic overbearing love and abuse of power, which was the specialty of his own idiosyncrasy. He had always lived on bad terms with the Court, the shifty and insincere policy of which he despised. His own mode of life was austere to asceticism, severe in its rigid uprightness; and his temper would have disinclined him to admit that *summum jus* could ever be other than the aim of a judge and ruler. The people hoped much from his elevation to the throne, should such be the result of the Conclave; for the old Capuchin had not hesitated, both in his sermons and in his conversation, to blame the proceedings of the Government, and to express his ardent desires for the improvement of the state of things in every part of the peninsula. In the meetings of the Cardinals during the days previous to the commencement of the Conclave, very high words had passed between him and Lambruschini, the late Secretary of State; and this opposition and hostility to the much-hated Secretary had the effect of powerfully increasing the popular feeling in favour of Micara. The temper of the man may be estimated from the characteristic reply made by him from his carriage-window, as he was going to the Conclave, to the populace, who were shouting their good wishes for his

* Gualterio, Op. cit.

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election : "Think well what it is you are wishing, my men ! With me for Pope, there will be no want of bread—or of the gallows !" Gregory the Sixteenth had a great dislike, and probably fear, of Micara, and always spoke of him among those around him as "Ludovicacio."

But the man who probably united in the greatest number the suffrages and good wishes of the liberal party was the Cardinal Pasquale Gizzi, who was Legate at Forli. And it is certainly much more in his favour that he should have been popular after having occupied such a post, than anything that can be said of men like Micara, Soglia, and Mastai, who had never been called to any position which necessarily showed them to the people as administrators of the detested Government of the Roman Curia. It was, however, especially his conduct in that invidious position which had endeared him to the Liberals. When the military commissions, appointed for the punishment of the insurgents of 1831, which studded the country with gibbets, crowded the galleys with prisoners, and filled Europe with exiles and almost every other home in the Papal States with mourning, were spreading terror and desolation throughout the country, Gizzi protested against the entry of any of these commissioners into his Legation of Forli, declaring that he could be answerable for the conduct of the people. And Massimo d'Azeglio, in his then recently published book, the "Cose di Romagna," the enormous popularity and circulation of which made any opinion expressed by the author very influential, speaks with high praise of the Legate of Forli's conduct on that occasion. He certainly was the man to whom the wishes of the Romans pointed, and when an absurd mistake led it to be supposed in Rome from one evening at sundown till about midnight that he had been elected, the rejoicing throughout Rome was enthusiastic.

Cardinal Gizzi was a man of small stature. Now it happens that three sets of pontifical vestments are ordered at the commencement of a Conclave, a bigger size, a second or middling size, and a smaller one. It happened also that the tailor, thinking like the rest of the world that the Conclave would last much longer than it did, had sent in only the large and second sized garments when the election was completed. And the small-sized vestment having been demanded, doubtless by the

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functionary whose perquisite the two unused sets would become, and this demand having come to the knowledge of anxious waiters for news, was seized on as a proof that Cardinal Gizzi was elected.

Of the other Cardinals who have been named, little was known beyond the fact that they had been humane and beneficent in the administration of the dioceses entrusted to them. Mastai had acquired more distinctly than either of them the reputation of being "Liberal," to which the fact that his family were known to belong to that political party had contributed. He had also more markedly than either of the others forgathered with Liberals, and been spoken of as a protector of many among them. But in fact little was known of him publicly beyond the fact that he had *not* done anything to render himself unacceptable to the nation, and that his name was not associated with any of the measures or conduct which had accumulated so terrible a mass of hatred against the governing caste of the clergy generally.

On the whole, Gizzi was the man to whom the wishes of the Liberal party pointed, when the Cardinals went into Conclave; and it was very confidently expected that he would be the successful candidate.

It was a very remarkable circumstance that Austria was wholly unprepared for the event of Gregory's death. She behaved, as one writer says, as if she thought that he was immortal! No Cardinal in her interest was in Rome with dircctions respecting the application of the "veto" she claimed to exercise. No intrigues of any sort had been set on foot by her with the view of influencing the Conclave. Cardinal Gaysruck, the Archbishop of Milan, was the person entrusted with the ecclesiastical policies, views and authority of Austria. And he remained quietly ruling his diocese in Lombardy, instead of plotting and watching in Rome! And what seems stranger still, he was not in possession of any instructions from his Court in view of the death of the Pope; but when that event, very suddenly at last, occurred, had to send to Vienna, and await his instructions thence. And those were the days when the possibilities of governmental and diplomatic action were limited by the capacities of post-horses!

It is probable that Austria's recent experience of the papal

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incapability of standing alone, of the absolute necessity of recurring to her for the material force which alone keeps the Pope on his throne, and of the ease with which she could supply this at need, engendered in the minds of her statesmen the security of contempt, and led her to think that the placing one imbecile Italian priest on the throne rather than another could make but small difference to her. It is probable also that she imagined the retrograde, no-concessions party in the Conclave to be so greatly in the majority, that no interference was necessary. Certain it is that the days went on, and Cardinal Gaysruck got no orders! It was in vain that the Italian friends of Austria and the Austrian view of things urged the aged Cardinal to start for Rome. Like a true son of Austria the Unready, he said that there was plenty of time, that in any case it was of no use for him to go without his instructions, and that he should get to Rome quite in time to show them how to elect a Pope.

At last his instructions arrived from Vienna, and he set out for Rome, carrying with him Austria's exclusion of Gizzi or Mastai. But he had hardly passed the Tuscan frontier before he was met by the news that the Pope was elected, and that Mastai was the man! He had to turn about and go back to Milan, a somewhat ridiculous spectacle! The Romans ironically dedicated to him the first portrait published of the new Pope; and he got back to his diocese only to die the following November, his death having been hastened either by the fatigue of the journey or by the vexation attendant on the circumstances of it.

Although the general expectation, or at least the general hope, was that Cardinal Gizzi would be elected, the universal belief was that the Conclave would be a long one; an expectation which, like so many others respecting the Papal Conclave, was very remarkably falsified by the event.

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CHAPTER VII.

POPULAR INTEREST IN THE CONCLAVE—LAMBRUSCHINI—HIS SUPPORTERS WISER IN THEIR GENERATION THAN THEIR OPPONENTS.—DELAY OF CARDINAL GAYSRUCK FATAL TO HIS PARTY.—THE FIRST SCRUTINY.—THE SECOND SCRUTINY.—THE THIRD SCRUTINY.—CARDINAL AMAT.—THE FOURTH SCRUTINY.—MASTAI SCRUTATOR.—THE ELECTION.

NEVER before, probably, in all the long history of the papal elections, had so large and especially so anxious a crowd gathered to gaze at the procession of cardinals as they went into Conclave as that which was collected on the open space of the Monte Cavallo and around the doors of the Quirinal to see the fifty Cardinals go through their fateful task on the evening of the 14th of June, 1846; for the interest which the people took in the election and the result of it was of a different nature from any which had attended the choosing of former Pontiffs. It was no longer a question of the ambition of this man or of that, or of the interests of this or that crowd of followers, retainers, and hangers-on of every degree, which was to be decided; the hopes and fears of an entire people were waiting on the same issue. Are we to be condemned to continue to suffer as we have suffered hitherto, or is a new era to be opened, a new hope to be born to us? The old turbulences, the old party cries, seem like the sport of joyous boys at some rough game of horse-play in comparison with the earnest and vital hopes and fears which were to be decided by the action of the Conclave at the death of Gregory the Sixteenth.

The hopes of the Retrograde and high Absolutist party were fixed on Lambruschini, that Archbishop of Genoa who, as we have seen, was Mastai's host when he was in want of a lodging on the eve of embarking for South America, and who subsequently became Gregory the Sixteenth's Secretary of State. That circumstance was now the main difficulty in his way. It

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was a thing unprecedented that a papal secretary of state should become the successor of the Pope he had served in that capacity. So recognised a fact was the inadmissibility of such a combination, that the enunciation of it has become axiomatic in Conclave language in the saying, "Nemo bis Papa,"—"No one can be twice Pope," which Lambruschini, had he been elected, would have been to a greater extent than almost any previous secretary, so entirely had he wielded the power of the Papacy during the latter years of Gregory.

Nevertheless, the chances seemed at first to be much in his favour. The diplomatists of the European Powers were all, with the notable exception of Pellegrino Rossi, then ambassador from France, desirous that he should be chosen. With singular ignorance of the real condition of the country to which they were accredited, they deemed that such was the best hope for the tranquillity of Europe. They saw the steam issuing out from every possible cranny of the machine, and, alarmed at the phenomenon were anxious to clap extra weight on the safety-valve.

The Cardinals who were anxious for his election were wiser in their generation than the diplomatists; and wiser, also, so far as the perception of the means for securing the end which they desired went, than the liberalising Cardinals. If, indeed, the object of these latter is to be considered to have been limited to so far tiding over the present difficulties as to procure for themselves a possibility of enjoying their own good things for the term of their natural lives, not only in comfort, but with a certain amount of praise and goodwill on the part of mankind, then indeed the line they took may be deemed to have been wisely chosen; but if they imagined that they were by their Liberalism obtaining a better chance for the ulterior permanency of their institutions, they deluded themselves and acted, though not so shortsightedly as the diplomatists, still under a very mistaken estimate of the compatibilities of it with the exigencies of the time, the approach of which they were hastening—a truth which the "Liberal" Cardinal they did choose for Pope was not long in recognising. The friends of Lambruschini—no, the phrase is an absurd one: a Cardinal Secretary of State has no friends—the adherents of Lambruschini knew better. Their intention was that the power,

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dignity, and wealth of the Roman Apostolic Church and Curia should be maintained, and its permanence and durability provided for. With a full appreciation of the fatal truth of the "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint!*" they meant to nail their colours to the mast, and triumph by dint of force, or go down fighting. No doubt they greatly miscalculated the probabilities of such triumph; but it was possible, or might fairly have seemed so then. The Liberal Cardinals might much more easily have known that their scheme of Church policy, as far as they had any, was an impossible one.

And Lambruschini was the best man the *intransigentes* had for carrying on the fight. Probably there was not a man in the College that did not hate him; for he had been Secretary of State! But for all that, he was the man they meant to make Pope. The times were too serious to think of personal likings, or even of time-honoured Conclave rules. "Plenty of time! I'll go to Rome and show those youngsters how to manage a papal election!" said old Cardinal Gaysruck at Milan, alluding, doubtless, not to his colleagues of the Sacred College, but to the diplomatic body at Rome. And if he had been a little more prompt, there can be very small doubt that Lambruschini would have been elected. But the other side were well aware that their chance depended on prompt action. There were, as has been seen, several Cardinals, one of whom the Liberals might have selected. Had they lost time in trying the strength of these one against the other in a succession of scrutinies, they would have lost their chance; for the Absolutists were expecting reinforcements from various quarters—Legitimists from France, and Obscurantists of the most see-nothing sort from Naples and the far South. But neither Soglia nor Falconieri showed themselves self-seeking or obstinate. Mastai does not seem to have had any hand whatever in his own election. As for Gizzi, curiously enough, notwithstanding the very general hope and expectation "out of doors" that he would be elected, nobody in the Conclave seems to have thought of him at all.

The first scrutiny took place on the morning of the 15th. Fifteen votes were given to Lambruschini, thirteen to Mastai, five to Soglia; the other seventeen were divided among numerous Cardinals, given, as votes in the first scrutiny of a Con-

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clave are wont to be, merely as complimentary, and without any intention of really making an election.

At the scrutiny of that evening Lambruschini had thirteen votes; Mastai, seventeen; Falconieri, four. Sixteen were still given in an objectless manner, and might still be had by either party; but enough had already taken place to show time-servers which way the wind was blowing, and to attract the worshippers of the rising sun.

At the first scrutiny of the 16th, Lambruschini had only eleven votes; Falconieri, seven; and Mastai, twenty-seven. Thirty-four votes—only seven more than he had received—were necessary to make the election. And his star was evidently on the rise. But it was certain that several Cardinals whose votes would be given to the Obscurantist party were hastening with all possible speed towards Rome. The lapse of the hours between the morning and the evening scrutiny might change the whole condition of the Conclave. Cardinal Amat, born at Cagliari, in Sardinia, in 1796, and therefore the Pope's junior by four years, who is still living, and is now Dean of the Sacred College, was the principal leader of the party who wished to elect Mastai. His experience as a governor in Romagna, where he had got into disgrace with Gregory the Sixteenth for having moderated the rigours of the vengeance against the rebels of 1831, and on his own authority assisted some of them to escape, had led him to wish for governmental reform; and the election of the present Pope seems to have been mainly due to his activity and energy. Near as Mastai seemed to the election, the lapse of a few hours might spoil all. Bernetti was not well-disposed to ideas of reform, as how should an old Secretary of State have been? Bernetti had been Lambruschini's predecessor in that office, and there was good ground, therefore, for supposing that he was not altogether pleased with the idea of seeing his successor ascend the throne. Amat resolved to try him, sent Cardinals Fieschi and Piccolomini to sound him and, if possible, persuade him, and succeeded in getting the promise of his vote for Mastai. Cardinals Soglia and Falconieri also advised their respective supporters to transfer their votes to Mastai.

At the close of the morning scrutiny on the 16th, which has been given, the Absolutist Cardinals of the old party returned

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to their cells thoughtful and downcast. The hours passed, and their friends came not! When the "In Capellam, Domini," was called for the evening scrutiny, they walked to the chapel slowly and with clouded brows. And their unfavourable previsions were increased by the contrasted bearing of the opposite party, who pressed forward towards the field of battle with all the alacrity of anticipated and almost ensured success.

The chance of the lots ordained that the three scrutators for that scrutiny on the evening of the 16th, were the Cardinals Vanicelli, a partisan of the old system, Fieschi, who had been active in preparing the triumph of Mastai, and Mastai himself. The first opens the voting paper, and declares the vote; passes the paper to the second, who registers it; and hands it on to the third, who a second time proclaims it in a sufficiently loud voice for all in the chapel to hear, before putting the schedule on the file.

Mastai, if the accounts which have been given and accepted of what passed in the secrecy of the Conclave are true, was not aware of the almost certainty of the triumph which awaited him. He had to proclaim his own name time after time. But he had already, at the previous scrutiny, received twenty-seven votes, and there was therefore nothing remarkable in this, especially as the names of the voters still remain concealed. But when, with a few intermissions here and there, the twenty-eighth vote for Mastai had been recorded, the feeling and anxiety throughout the chapel became intense; and, as may easily be imagined, the emotion of Mastai almost overpowering. A twenty-ninth voice for Mastai! Was the game lost and won? Or was there still hope that that evening's scrutiny might be got over without an election having been consummated? A thirtieth vote for Mastai? Hearts began to beat with painful palpitation in those aged bosoms, and lips might have been seen to blanch! As for Mastai himself, he was so overpowered by his emotions that his voice refused to do the task required of it. He sank into a seat, and implored his colleagues to break off the business in hand, to appoint another scrutator, to spare him a task which was beyond his strength. He probably forgot in that moment of agitation that any such step as those he was imploring his colleagues to take, would have vitiated the whole operation, and necessitated another scrutiny the following morning

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—with who knows what results! But if he forgot the fact, he was the only man there who did. His supporters gathered round him, told him to take his time, to repose awhile! The losing party stood grimly silent the while, possibly not without a lingering hope that a weakling's emotions might absolutely have the effect of necessitating another scrutiny.

But if so they were disappointed. After a few minutes, Mastai conquered his agitation, and resumed his task.

Four more times in succession he had to call aloud that yet another vote had been given in his favour; and then the work was done.

The two hundred and sixty-second Pope was elected!

And here is a translation of the letter—a photographed facsimile of which the reader will find at the beginning of this volume, which he wrote to his brothers on the occasion:—

"16*th June*, 1846.

"DEAREST BROTHERS* GIUSEPPE AND GAETANO,

"The blessed God who abases and raises up has thought fit to lift up my lowliness to the most sublime dignity which exists on this earth—His holy will be for ever done.

"I know in some degree the well-nigh immeasurable gravity of so great a charge, and I know equally my own poverty, not to say nullity of spirit. Cause prayer to be made, and pray for me. The Conclave lasted forty-eight hours.

"If the Commune of Sinigaglia should think fit to go to any expense for making demonstrations, contrive, indeed it is my will, that the sum to be spent should be laid out in things useful for the city, according to the judgment of the mayor and aldermen.

"As to yourselves, dear brothers, I embrace you with all my heart in Jesus Christ, and far from exulting compassionate your brother, who gives to all of you the Apostolic Benediction.

"PIO IX."

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* In the original written by mistake *fatelli* instead of *fratelli*.

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BOOK II.

FROM HIS ELECTION TO THE PAPACY, 17TH JUNE, 1846, TO HIS FLIGHT TO GAETA, ON THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1848.

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CHAPTER VIII.

PROCLAMATION OF THE ELECTION.—FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE CHARACTER OF POPE.—FIRST ACTS OF THE POPE.—DISTRIBUTIONS OF MONEY.—THE CEREMONY OF THE CORONATION.—THE AMNESTY.—VISIT ON FOOT TO THE CHURCH OF THE UMILTA.—THE GRANTING OF THE AMNESTY.—THE CONDITIONS OF IT. SOME REFUSED THEM.—REJOICINGS WHICH FOLLOWED THE PROCLAMATION OF THE AMNESTY.—CICERUACCHIO.—POPE'S VISIT TO THE CHURCH OF SAN VICENZO DI PAOLI.—POPULACE TAKE THE HORSES FROM THE PAPAL CARRIAGE.—THE WRITING ON THE WALLS.—REFLECTIONS OF AUSTRIA.

IT is the 17th of June, 1846, as brilliant a morning as ever was seen under the matchless Roman sky; and a clear voice announces *Urbi et Orbi*—to the city and to the world—from the balcony of the Quirinal, the advent of a new Pope-King.—"*Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum*," etc. And the handsome person and pleasing face of the new Pope appears to his people, and imparts with uplifted hand and admirably dignified gesture, his blessing to the vast crowd gathered on the wide piazza of the Monte Cavallo, in clear and ringing tones, and with a far-reaching power of voice, such as rarely if ever had been heard in Rome on a similar occasion before.

Certainly that step forth from the dim light of the Conclave into the full blaze of day, to be hailed as a god on earth by a large portion of the inhabitants of earth, must be a moment such as few mortal lives can ever experience! And probably no man ever experienced that moment, who was by temperament and character more adapted to savour all the emotions it was calculated to produce, than he who then took his place on the stage of the world, and the roll of history, as Pius the Ninth.

When Leo the Tenth, the jovial Medici, was elected, three hundred years and more ago, he said, "Since God has given us the Papacy, let us enjoy it!" But those were very Pagan times, and the manifestation of the feelings of a new Pope is

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nowadays expected to be made in a different manner. The *episcopari nolo*, which ecclesiastical etiquette, with a singularly characteristic love for pious falsehood, requires to be pronounced by those whom the Church delights to honour, has to be uttered and acted by a new Pope in various touching and emotional ways; all of which proprieties Pius the Ninth may be believed to have performed in the most unexceptional and approved manner, without any occupation of space in these pages by a reproduction of the accounts of such matters, which have been duly preserved. He is an actor of that sort which is really touched by the excellence of his own acting. When he threw himself on his knees in a passion of weeping, as per precedent, we may be sure that he not only did the thing with admirable histrionic grace and propriety, but felt all the proper sentiments, with the truth and vividness of a man endowed with a warm and feeling imagination.

But the first appearance in the character of Vicar of God on earth was a disappointment. His ear caught none of the roar of applause which it craved for. The assembled multitude was very cold. It was not that there existed any ill-will or prejudice against the man who had been elected to rule over their bodies and their souls. But, in the first place, there had been all night a general belief that Cardinal Gizzi had been elected; and the crowd was puzzled and mystified. Some thought that it was Gizzi who stood before them. There were eager questionings, explanations, a buzz of voices, but of welcoming applause little or nothing. A second reason for this was that the Cardinal Mastai was almost unknown at Rome. The Romans felt that the announcement of his name told them nothing of all they were so eager to be informed about, and which it was so vital for them to know. The silence which smote the eager and disappointed ears of the new Pope was not a silence of disapprobation, but of doubt and suspension of judgment. Something, too, of disappointment there was; for the election of Cardinal Gizzi had been greatly desired.

Very quickly, however, information began to pour in, and the Romans began to conceive high hopes of the new Papacy. Certainly he was not a Lambruschini, or a friend of the late detested Secretary. Pleasant anecdotes came from Spoleto. Certainly he had been deemed a Liberal by the people at

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Imola. Excellent things began to be noised from mouth to mouth of the very first fruits of his Papacy. All pledges under fifty *baiocchi*—say two shillings—in value, at the Monte di Pietà, the great Government pawnbroking establishment at Rome, to be restored to the owners gratuitously! Fifty-three "dowers" of fifty crowns each—about ten pounds—to be distributed to as many poor Roman girls, and a thousand "dowers" of ten crowns each to be given in the country! Six thousand crowns were distributed to the poor of Rome;—deeds recognised as proofs of angelic goodness by a population which had no glimmering of an idea of the elemental truths of political economy, or of the degree of self-denial implied in the distribution of money by a Pope!

Gradually but rapidly the name of Pio Nono was becoming popular among the Romans. On the 21st of June came the grand ceremony of the coronation in St. Peter's. But on this occasion, also, though the popular manifestation of goodwill was much more decided than on the occasion of the announcement, the applause was neither general nor hearty. The Romans, it was evident, wanted yet something more before they could open their hearts to their new ruler. And murmurings, and isolated cries among the crowd, very unmistakably manifested to those who were on the look-out for such indications, what this something was—an amnesty! The number of those in prison and in exile for political offences was terribly large. It has been already shown that during the whole fifteen years' reign of Gregory the Sixteenth, insurrection was always in the state of an incandescent volcano, if not of one in actual eruption. There were few families of the middle classes which were not suffering from the absence, either by imprisonment or exile, of some one or more of their members. An amnesty, therefore, which should cancel, as far as human power could reach, the sufferings which had been inflicted on the people by the past Government, and which should, at the same time, give a pledge that the evil past was to be broken with, and a new order of things inaugurated, was the great desire of the country; and Pius laid to heart the intimation that this step was a *sine qua non* of the approbation of his subjects. On that same day, the 21st of June, a festival was held by the political prisoners in the fort of Civita Cas-

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tellana, to celebrate the election of a "Liberal" Pontiff; and this manifestation, altogether of a nature to appeal to the sympathies of Pius, was a further indication of the only road which lay open to the hearts of his subjects.

A few days subsequently to this, on the 27th of June, a little incident occurred which has been related to me by the person to whom it happened, and which curiously indicates the degree of disturbance which a small ruffling of the flowing stream of popularity produced in the Pope's complacency, and still more remarkably his appreciation of the rocks ahead, which might entirely divert the current of it. There had been an ecclesiastical ceremony of some kind at St. Peter's on that day; and as the crowd were streaming out of the church, some hisses or cries had been heard addressed to Monsignore Corboli, a trusted friend and minister of the Pontiff, who was, however, not popular with the Romans. It was in the afternoon of this day that the gentleman who is my informant had to wait on the Pope for some business occasion, and found him in a very ill humour. The manifestations I have spoken of had been mentioned to him. His Holiness complained that things were going very badly; that there must be nothing of this sort—otherwise "*verrano i brutti musi*,"—we shall be having the ugly mugs here! By which uncomplimentary, almost slang, phrase, he meant the Austrians!

But the first circumstance which afforded the Pope a taste of the pleasures of popularity, and almost of an ovation, was a visit paid by him on foot to the little church of the Umiltà, situated in the street of the same name, on the slope of the Quirinal Hill, as it descends towards the Corso. It was on the 2nd of July—the celebration of the Visitation of the Virgin—that the Pontiff, almost alone, without guards, without a train of Court attendants, or Cardinals, and wonder of wonders! without a carriage, walked from the palace to the Quirinal the short distance to the church above-mentioned, and there performed his orisons! The tidings of the presence of the sovereign in that spot, and of the simple manner of his visit, so wholly unlike all that the Roman populace had been accustomed to, ran from mouth to mouth like lightning through the city. And by the time his devotions were ended, and he started on his walk back to the Quirinal, an enormous crowd had assembled, and ren-

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dered his homeward walk a veritable ovation. That was the new Pontiff's first experience of real popularity, and it whetted his appetite for more of the same sort.

On the 16th of that July the much-desired amnesty was decreed, and on the following day announced, the motives set forth in the preamble to the declaration are noteworthy: "The affection that our good people has shown towards us, and the constant marks of veneration which the Holy See has received in our person, have persuaded us that we may pardon without danger." The silliness of basing such an act on such a motive, though it must have made itself patent enough to the Pope himself as well as to others, at no great distance of time subsequently, seems to have occurred to no mind then. The persons in prison for political offences were at that time three hundred and ninety-four in number, and the exiles or emigrants, who could not venture to return, six hundred and five. All these, with the exception of a few who were ecclesiastics, or officers in the papal army, or Government officials (all which category were formally excluded from the amnesty), were pardoned on condition of signing the following declaration:

"I, the undersigned, acknowledging myself to have received a singular favour in the spontaneous and generous pardon accorded to me by the indulgence of the supreme Pontiff, Pius the Ninth, my legitimate sovereign, for the part taken by me in tentatives of whatsoever kind, which have disturbed public order, and assailed the authority legitimately constituted in his temporal dominions, promise on my word of honour not to abuse this act of his sovereign clemency at any time or in any manner, and pledge myself to fulfil faithfully all the duties of a good and loyal subject."

All the prisoners, the exiles, and the refugees accepted the terms and signed the above agreement. Some few refused to do so, not because they would not give the promise required, but because they would not admit that they had done anything that needed pardon. Among these few are found the names of the now Senators Terenziano Mamiani and Carlo Pepoli. They were, however, subsequently permitted to return tacitly without signing any declaration. Some of the refugees also returned in an irregular manner, without having ever signed the declaration, and no notice was taken of them.

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It was six o'clock in the evening on the 17th of July, 1846, just one month after the election of the new Pope, that the official proclamation of the amnesty took place in Rome. Within an hour afterwards a large crowd had assembled on Monte Cavallo, crying "Viva Pio Nono!" with frantic enthusiasm. The Pope came out on the balcony, and gave them his blessing and the crowd departed. But by nine o'clock a roaring, rushing crowd, a thousand strong for every hundred of the first demonstration, had re-assembled in front of the Pope's windows. And again the Pontiff came out on to the balcony, and gave the noisy multitude the pontifical benediction. And once again the crowd departed, and the wide space remained empty and silent. But about an hour later a third crowd, as much exceeding the second in numbers as that had exceeded the first, had again assembled. The whole of the vast piazza of the Monte Cavallo and the neighbouring streets were filled with a compact mass of struggling and screaming men and women. A great number of them had flaming torches in their hands, and they had brought a band of music with them. Once again the Pontiff appeared and dispersed thanks and blessing to the right and to the left. Leaving the Quirinal the crowd, with their music and their torches, traversed the whole length of the Corso, saluting the residence of Cardinal Gizzi with a chorus of "Evvivas!" on the way, continually shouting the name of "Pio Nono!" and "Viva il Papa!" till at length they dispersed on the Piazza del Popolo. On the evening of the 18th the whole city was illuminated spontaneously; and again the piazza of the Quirinal on Monte Citorio was filled with a vast crowd waving torches and filling the vault of heaven with the mighty roar of their united voices.

The Pope for a long time did not show himself. Whether it were that, like Frankenstein, he already began to feel alarm at the movements of the monster he had conjured into life, or whether it was a device for stirring up the expectations and enthusiasm of the populace to the utmost, it was nearly three hours before the Holy Father came out that night on the balcony to return thanks to his people for their affection, and to bless them. But at the end of that time he did so. That night, after receiving the pontifical blessing, the crowd again betook themselves to the Piazza del Popolo, where Angelo

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Brunetti, who subsequently became so well known under the nickname of "Ciceruacchio," and who was a wealthy tavern-keeper and had been secretly a leader of the disaffected under the late Government, distributed wine to whosoever would drink.

The following day, the 19th, is the festival of San Vincenzo de' Paoli, in whose honour there is a church at Monte Citorio. Thither the Pope went to mass that morning. The streets were lined during the whole distance by an enthusiastic multitude shouting blessings on him as he passed, blessing with uplifted fingers in return right and left from his carriage windows as it cleft its slow way through the living masses. As he returned to the Quirinal, the streets were for a great part of the distance strewn with flowers, and despite all prohibitions, the people took the horses from the Pontiff's carriage and drew him to the Quirinal.

Meantime throughout the provinces of the Apostolic States, and indeed in every part of Italy, the feeling excited was not less strong than in Rome. It would hardly be too much to say that not an available wall space throughout the peninsula remained without the cabalistic "W* PIO NONO!" scrawled upon it. The scrawling indeed soon gave place to stencilling. Hundreds of thousands of stencil plates must have been cut with that sign and those words, which became in Italy as much a portion of what the eye was wont to look on as the leaves on the trees or the grass in the fields!

The new Pontiff was exhibiting to the world the startling, unknown, and significative phenomenon of a popular Pope. And Austria was beginning to realize the fact that those hours of Gaysruck's delay at Milan had been somewhat portentous ones in the history of the world. Nor has all the importance of them been even yet perhaps recognised.

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* The W or two V's is the abbreviated form of "Viva."

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CHAPTER IX.

STATE OF MEN'S MINDS AT ROME.--GREGORIANI.—PIANI.—WIRE-PULLERS.—DIRECTIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS SENT FROM LEADERS AT A DISTANCE.—MONTANELLI.—MAZZINI.—INHERITORS OF THE OLD GUELPHISM.—DIFFICULTIES WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD TO STRUGGLE.--COMMENCEMENT OF MISGIVINGS AMONG THE FRIENDS OF THE VATICAN.—CHANGE IN PIUS NINTH'S CONDUCT IMPLIED NO CHANGE IN THE MAN.—FESTIVAL OF 8TH SEPTEMBER:—PUBLIC AUDIENCES.—THE 8TH OF NOVEMBER.—PROCLAMATION DESIGNED TO CHECK POPULAR MANIFESTATIONS.—MONSTER BANQUET.--27TH DECEMBER, THE POPE'S NAME DAY.--END OF THE YEAR 1846.

THIS intoxication of joy and hope and exultation continued during the remaining months of that year and the spring of the following one. The whole population of the States of the Church seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to fool their sovereign to the top of his bent. Probably no human ears ever drank up so enormous a quantity of unadulterated flattery as did those of Pius the Ninth in the course of those months. It seemed, too, as if the people intoxicated themselves and each other with the flattery they uttered. Everybody embraced everybody; everybody called everybody brother. Old jealousies and old hatreds were forsworn. There was to be peace on earth, and goodwill towards men—even towards priests! It was to be the beginning of a new era of prosperity and happiness; all the old evils that had made the people wretched, and Rome a by-word of barbarism and reproach, were to be at an end. If the Pope gave permission for the opening of infant schools, the act was be-hymned, as if such a manifestation of wisdom and beneficence had never been known in the world before. If he allowed the establishment of a circulating library, if he sanctioned the principle of association for the purpose of industry, all Rome fell into ecstasies of delight and adulation. A roseate hue was in the atmosphere, and coloured all things. If anybody had a misgiving in his heart—if anybody doubted

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whether something more might not be needed for the regeneration of such a profoundly rotten social body as that of Rome than anything that was being done, he kept his thoughts to himself, and joined in the universal hymn of praise and rejoicing. The present writer can testify as an eye-witness to the apparent universality, sincerity, and spontaneousness of the feelings and manifestations of them described.

But there is good reason to believe that they were neither universal nor spontaneous, nor wholly sincere. That the apparent universality of these sentiments should have been only apparent was, of course, natural enough, and to have been expected. Many persons and classes of persons had lived by the corruptions, abuses, and tyranny of the old system. Inquisitors, spies, those who profited by abuses; judges, lawyers, whose lives had been passed in the grooves of the old paths; priests of sufficient honesty and clearness of vision to perceive that reform and the predominance of the ecclesiastical caste were for ever incompatible; all these, and those who depend upon them, made up the ranks of the "Sanfedisti,"* as they were called, and were animated by the bitterest and most rancorous hatred against all the acts, ideas, and persons that were placing a gulf between the old time and the new. The admirers of the latter were called, with that old love for partisan names which has been in every age a Roman speciality, "Piani," from "Pius"; and the former "Gregoriani," from the name of the late Pope.

A more important fact, as regards the nascent hopes for the future of Rome and of Italy, was that the sentiments, the enthusiastic rush of which was carrying all before them, were not wholly sincere, nor were those manifestations of them which have been described altogether spontaneous.

The intensity of the gratitude that was manifested by the Roman populace for the amnesty was remarkable. Very few indeed of those who profited by it were Romans. The insurrections and seditions, which had filled the prisons with prisoners and the other provinces of Italy with exiles, had not arisen at Rome, but in the Legations; at Bologna, at Ravenna, at Ferrara, etc. It is true that the granting of the amnesty

*From "Santa Fede," the "Holy Faith."

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might have been interpreted—was, reasonably enough interpreted—as a formal repudiation of the general system and tendencies of the late Government, and the inauguration of a new era. But the masses of such a population as that of the Rome of Gregory the Sixteenth were hardly likely to have been so strangely moved by such considerations ; and subsequent revelations have shown that other influences were at work to move them. The leaders of the Carbonari and of the "Giovine Italia" had already gauged Pius the Ninth, and were already seeking to practise on his vanity and craving for popular applause, for the attainment of ends very different from any that were dreamed of in his philosophy.* The very remarkable paper of instructions sent at this time "to the friends of Italy" by that ardent patriot, sincere humanitarian, and great organiser, Mazzini, which is given, translated *in extenso*, in an Appendix to these volumes, is well worth reading by any who wish to understand the true position of the Italian Government and the Papacy, especially at this period.† It will serve, together with the documents referred to in the note, and many other similar revelations to be found scattered in the subsequently-published memorials of the men who were attempting to bring about the unity and independence of Italy, to show that the crowds which administered to the Pontiff the flattering ovations he so dearly loved were set in motion by wire-pullers, whose views were consciously incompatible with the existence of the temporal power of the Papacy.

Others, however, there were whose views and hopes, in truth equally incompatible with the existence of that power, were not so consciously to themselves. They were men the lineal representatives in feelings and modes of thought of those who helped to crush the reformation in Italy in the sixteenth century, not because they were insensible to the evils of the papal system as it then existed, but because they could not endure that Italy should lose so great, so singular, and so pre-

* The "Archivio triennale delle cose d'Italia," printed at Capolago in 1850, pp. 349-352, may be referred to. See also the "Memorie di Montanelli," the same who was subsequently one of the triumvirate government in Tuscany, vol. i. p. 137.

+ I would especially direct the attention of the reader to the passage in which Mazzini speaks of the clergy.

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eminent a possession as the Papacy. Those men, the heirs of the old mediæval Guelphism, as they were the forerunners of the new Guelphs of the nineteenth century, sought to fashion forth to themselves a new and redeemed Italy under the headship of an improved and purified Pope. These dreamers were sincere in the ovations which they offered to Pio Nono, and in the hopes which they formed from the advent of a reformer Pope. They have received from him in return for their incense the very much more valuable service of a decisive, final, and undeniable proof that the hope in question, though it has been the hope of centuries, is an absolutely impossible and impracticable dream.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Pius the Ninth was attempting a task which he and, far more clearly than he, all those about him saw to be one of exceeding difficulty, and which *we* know to have been wholly impossible.

In the first place, none of the Government—neither Pius himself nor any of those whom it was open to him to employ —had any fixed ideas or plan to carry out. It was impossible that he should have had. A Pope, who of course has certainly no assurance, and perhaps not the smallest idea, that he will be Pope till he is elected, can but enter into the grooves which he finds established, and accept the system in operation. Add to that the enormous difficulty of finding a *via media* between the old repression and such an excess of the new Liberalism as, it was already beginning to be seen, would be fatal to the machine altogether. The Papal Government was attempting to steer its way between a Scylla and Charybdis, which intensified the dangers inseparable from such an attempt by continually changing their positions. The Liberalising Government of Pius the Ninth was surrounded by enemies. The Gregorians were of course the bitter, rancorous, and irreconcilable enemies of everything that changed or showed a tendency to change anything that had existed under the late Pope. And many of the Liberals who were by their applause stimulating and urging the Pontiff to go forward ever faster and further, were consciously driving him to his destruction. Some believed in the possibility of a Liberal Pope-king, but they were very much the minority. The screaming populace no doubt felt sincere kindness towards the Sovereign whose doings caused them to

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be at that moment screaming instead of working, and who did not cause his sbirri (policemen) to forthwith lay them by the heels. But the wire-pullers who were obeying such instructions as those given in the Appendix which has been above referred to, were consciously and of set purpose driving the Pope forward in a path which they knew must, and fully purposed should, lead to his destruction.

It was not till the several revelations given to the world in subsequent times and under changed circumstances had been made, that this truth could have been stated with certainty; but it was not long before those around Pius the Ninth began to realize the truth that they were advancing towards a precipice, and but a few months had passed before Pontiff himself became fully aware of that fact.

And as soon as ever he did become aware of it, he lost not an instant in turning about, retracing his steps, and using all his energies to travel as fast and as far as possible in the opposite direction. The sudden change in the Pope's conduct, in his policy, and in the tendencies and direction of it have been constantly commented on as being a phenomenon of a surprising and very singular kind. Never before, it has been said, did man become suddenly so unlike his former self. But all such remarks are based on an entirely mistaken view of the circumstances. No change took place then, or at any other time in the nature, the tendencies, the opinions, or the desires of Pius the Ninth. He was, he has been, the same man throughout. The change in the direction in which he moved was simply that of the man who, in chasing a butterfly, suddenly sees a precipice before him, of the existence of which he had no previous idea. No charge of fickleness or uncertainty of purpose will lie against Pius the Ninth. But the amount of ignorance under which he laboured—ignorance of the condition of men's minds and thoughts in the world, and especially in that part of it which he was called to rule over; ignorance of the nature and requirements of his own position, and of the necessary connection between certain theories and principles and the outcome of them in the world of fact—must have been something colossal, and almost inconceivable to those who have never had any opportunity of observing the effect of sacerdotal education in a social atmosphere unadulterated by

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any unsacerdotal element. The wonder of the reader at the possibility of such ignorance will go on increasing at each fresh concession granted by the Pope—wonder that he does not yet see the chasm yawning at his feet! At its very edge he did see it, and he has been running from it ever since.

As yet, however, we are in the midst of that short honeymoon, when all the Roman world was bathed in a roseate light, when the "Saturnia regna," if not already quite come back, were on the point of returning, and all went merrily "as a marriage bell."

On the 8th of September, the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin, the Pope went in state to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo. And this was the occasion for another great ovation and demonstration. Ciceruacchio caused a triumphal arch, similar to that of Constantine, to be erected in the Piazza del Popolo for the Pontiff to pass under, which was most gratifying—naturally so; only . . . among the "evvivas" which accompanied the Pontiff on his way through the streets, some ears fancied they heard cries of "Italia!" What could that mean? Hum . . .

Since the end of July the Pope had begun giving public audiences on a certain day of the week—one day for men and another for women.[1] They were held in the garden of the Quirinal. Nothing could be more delightful, patriarchal, primitive, picturesque Arcadian. Saturnian kingdoms come again in truth! The popularity of the Pontiff was increased immensely by the arrangement. The receptions in the Garden of the Quirinal became all the rage with the Roman populace. Coffee and cake alone were wanting to make such *noctes cœnæque Deum* as the world had never seen before. It is painful to have to add that they had to be discontinued after a very short experience of them. The "indiscretion and importunity" of the people became such that it was impossible to continue them. The women, we are told, were the worst. And those who ever have had any experience of the Roman matron, as she is seen in her native haunts of the Trastevere and the Monti, will understand that the Pontiff paid dearly for his ephemeral popularity by those receptions in the gardens of the Quirinal.

On the 8th of November the new Pope went in solemn

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state to take possession of his bishopric at the Lateran, the mother church of all the churches in Rome and in the Catholic world. And this was another occasion for a grand ovation—all the balconies decked with brilliant coloured hangings, all the walls eloquent with flattering inscriptions, and all the streets lined by a vociferating crowd.

But the principal of those occasions only have been mentioned here. Hardly a day passed without its "manifestation," or "demonstration," and its daily dose of flattery administered to the palate, which was learning to find life intolerable without it.

Already, however, the shrewder of the counsellors who surrounded the Pope had begun to perceive that this constant assembling of the populace might become dangerous. Doubtless they were not aware how accurately, though for the most part unconsciously, the people were acting in obedience to the orders of that unseen leader, whose principal direction was, "Assemble, assemble, assemble!" and who was secretly watching from a distance the process that was to lead to their utter destruction. But they were instinctively aware that so much gathering together of the popular masses could not be safe, and that bearing in mind what they wanted and what the people wanted, so much rejoicing was but a likely prelude to a dangerous degree of disappointment. On the 8th of October the Secretary of State, Cardinal Gizzi, published a declaration, the object of which was to put a stop to, or at least moderate, these festive gatherings. The matter was rather a difficult one to handle, and the turn given to the Cardinal's proclamation was ingenious. The joy of the population, it is said, makes the joy and delight of the Pontiff's heart. "Nevertheless his heart, always inclined to prefer the welfare of his subjects to his own glory, is sensible of some affliction mingled with his joy, when he considers that these festive doings have been the product of voluntary contributions: and he cannot tolerate that his people should be put to expense on his behalf. Besides which he has perceived with pain that large masses of the population, abandoning themselves to this enthusiasm, have left their domestic occupations by means of which, according to their different positions in life, they provided for their support; so that his paternal heart has been

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doubly grieved by this second loss which has accrued to his loving subjects." For which reasons all good subjects are exhorted to give over these costly demonstrations and return quietly to their ordinary occupations, "tranquilly awaiting those dispositions for the benefit of the country which the Government is preparing."

It was not long before it began to be very evident that the fears which portrayed themselves in the above proclamation, were not altogether unreasonable or without foundation. On the 11th of November a monster banqet took place, which had been organized for the purpose of "fraternizing" with the large number of persons who had come to Rome from the provinces, to be present at the ceremony of the Taking Possession of the Lateran. It took place in the Alibert Theatre, subsequently burned down, and about eight hundred guests sat down to table in the body of the theatre. The boxes and galleries were filled with a vast crowd of lookers-on, belonging to every social grade and class. There was a colossal bust of Pius the Ninth in the centre of the table; and innumerable healths were drunk and speeches made in honour and praise of the Sovereign Pontiff. Various poets also recited their verses on the same theme. But, mingled with the praises of Pius the Ninth, there were allusions as to what he was going to do, of a somewhat too significant kind; there were reflections on the memory of Gregory the Sixteenth, which (considering the nature of Popes and their pretensions) must have sounded rather unpleasantly in his successor's ears! Among the "evvivas" to Pius the Ninth, some to "Italia!" were heard. Now that word was a word of fear for all the rulers of the Peninsula. They understood well that their subjects did not use the term in the correct Metternichian sense, as a mere "geographical expression;" and no form of disaffection was in those days deemed more dangerous and ominous than any allusion to "Italia!" The fears lest his beloved subjects should be spending in his honour more money than they could afford became stronger than ever at the Quirinal!

The year 1846 ended, however, with the political barometer standing at fair weather; and Pius the Ninth was still hailed daily, in all papers and on all dead walls throughout Italy, as not only the best of all possible Popes, but as a better Pope

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than the human imagination could have conceived before it had seen him! The worst of it was that the somewhat instructed human imagination could not conceive the possibility of the continuance of him, now it had seen him! This unfortunate consideration, however, broke upon the minds of the Romans but slowly. Meanwhile, the 27th of December being sacred to St. John, and being therefore the Pope's name-day (which is to Italians a festivity observed as we observe our birthdays), a crowd of about eight hundred of the idling frequenters of the cafés, having nothing better to amuse them, went up to the Quirinal with music and torches, and shoutings, to salute the Pontiff. He came out on the balcony and blessed the immense multitude which had assembled, drawn together by the demonstration of the original eight hundred;—but the fears about the expenses incurred were becoming very pressing.

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CHAPTER X.

BEGINNING OF 1847.—MORE "DEMONSTRATIONS."—SPECIAL TALENT OF PIUS THE NINTH FOR REPRESENTING.—HIS APPEARANCE, MANNER.—IMPROVEMENTS IN ROMAN INSTITUTIONS.—CIRCUMSTANCES URGING THE POPE TO BE A REFORMER.—INAUGURATION OF RAILWAY SYSTEM.—INFANT ASYLUMS.—ACADEMY OF THE LINCEI.—ASSOCIATION FOR AMELIORATION OF THE CAMPAGNA.—"PIANO" ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD.—INSTITUTION OF THE "CONSULTA."—CEREMONIAL OF INAUGURATION.—PROCESSION OF NEW MEMBERS TO THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER.—EPIGRAPHS AND ERASURES FROM THEM BY THE CENSOR.—BLINDNESS OF PIUS TO THE FUTURE—INTENDED FOREIGN MANIFESTATIONS FORBIDDEN.

THE new year began at Rome, as the old one had ended, with gala doings, "evvivas," festive shouting, and congratulations. The attempts to check this already somewhat disquieting tendency to make perpetual "demonstrations," instead of going about their ordinary business, wholly failed to effect their object. It would not at all have suited the views of those who were pulling the wires by which the Roman populace was moved, that this tendency should have been checked. "Associate, associate, associate!" was the cry of the arch-agitator and conspirator. "Meet together, if only on the pretext of giving thanks for any concession granted, and make your meeting the occasion for asking more!" The Romans showed themselves apt pupils of such teaching. Had the teacher bidden them to work well each man at his appointed task, they would have been less apt. "Demonstrating" was not hard work; it was pleasant enough; had all the flavour of novelty, and left the rather hoarse and thirsty demonstrators with a vague but agreeable sense of having accomplished a virtuous and heroical action, and done somewhat towards the regeneration of their country.

The *Capo d'anno*, the first of the new year, was an occasion not to be lost! Early in the morning of the 1st of January,

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1847, several thousands of people, among whom were a great many of the students of the University, assembled with music and colours flying on the Piazza del Popolo, and having there formed themselves into a procession, proceeded to the Quirinal. There "a hymn," composed for the occasion, was sung by abont four hundred voices, in a very orderly manner, showing that the assembled thousands were under word of command. The Pope, well drilled to his work by this time, came out to the balcony, blessed, thanked, blessed again, and retired. In the evening another "hymn"—there was the utmost abundance of hymns in those days, as the present writer can well remember —was sung in the great hall of the Senators' Palace on the Capitol. But this hymn was set to music by Rossini, and was performed in the presence of many Cardinals and all the most aristocratic society of Rome. I do not think the aristocratic society understood the meaning of it. Some of the Cardinals, doubtless, did, and they did not like it!

It is an old remark that everybody likes to do that which he is conscious of doing well. And Pius the Ninth did his part on all these occasions eminently well. It is impossible to conceive any man better adapted for the part, or performing it more admirably. Those who, like the present writer, had the opportunity of seeing and talking with both Gregory the Sixteenth, toward the end of his career, and Pius the Ninth at the beginning of his, will hardly have forgotten the strange contrast, which must have impressed itself on their imaginations. Anything less connected with any idea of dignity than the appearance of old Gregory can hardly be conceived. A peasant, or even an uneducated monk, may be dignified in bearing, if they have that within which is worthy of respect. But Gregory had not this. The low and narrow mind of the man was reflected in his good-humoured-looking, but very vulgar face, not unmarked by the traces of excess—never probably sufficiently gross to have seemed excess to other than a medical observer, but still telling its tale on the physiognomy of unreverend old age. And the sordid habits of the Camaldolese monk had been in no degree exorcised by the tiara. He was excessively dirty, and the entirety of his bearing, his voice, mode of utterance, and the words he spoke, were in perfect keeping with his external appearance.

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Pius the Ninth had, on the other hand, the fortuitous advantage of having been born a gentleman. He had the further accidental advantages of a remarkably fine person, and a far more remarkably magnificent voice. And he had in great perfection that grace of bearing which is unfailingly accepted by mankind as the indication of certain spiritual graces, with which it has often little or no connection, and which is rarely attained in perfection by any save those who have somewhat of a histrionic strain in their constitution and character. It would doubtless be wronging Pius the Ninth to suppose that he was altogether unregardful of the tremendous underlying verities which rule the proprieties of the relationship between a Pope and his people. But what the nature of the man forced into the foreground of his mind was the artistic proprieties of the position and the occasion. He felt that the *rôle* that had been entrusted to him was a very telling one, and excellently adapted to his capabilities, and he was bent on making the most of it!

It was impossible to leave his presence—it is impossible now, after more than thirty years' performance by him of the part, and was naturally more so in those days—without being favourably impressed by the performer. His affability was naturally at that early time more marked than it is now. Not that in these days the octogenarian fails in courtesy to his numerous visitors; but in those earlier days he had the consciousness that everybody, who saw him, saw him to admire and to praise him; that all Europe was looking at him applaudingly; and—it is very different now.

Yet favourable as was the impression which the Pope made on nearly all who saw, and still more on those who spoke with him, especially on those of a kindred nature to his own, who delighted in a grand and graceful presentment, and gave themselves up without misgiving to the charm of manner, closer observers, or those who were not gifted with so complete a sympathy for the perfection of artistic presentment, felt that there was something wanting in the man, something that did not wholly satisfy the moral sense. The features, though they were in those days undeniably handsome, and to a great degree prepossessing, were those of a weak man. And while the mouth betrayed weakness, there was something in the eye that betokened insincerity. I believe that both these indications

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were truthful. It is well known that the popular superstition of the Romans has always attributed to the present Pope the unfortunate quality of the evil eye. Why, or whence, the idea arose, nobody has ever been able to say. The notion certainly was not generated from the extreme unpopularity, which succeeded so quickly to the contrary feeling, among the Romans towards their sovereign ; for it dated from the former period. It seems simply to have arisen in the popular mind from the look of him. And it seems not unlikely, that the same speciality of appearance and of glance, which has led many physiognomists to deem his look an insinccre one, may have caused the populace of Rome to account for the expression in question in accordance with the dictates of their ancient immemorial superstition.

There were a great number of improvements that were possible without trenching in any way on ground which the Pope was thoroughly minded not to enter on, and many institutions, undeniably useful and beneficent in their nature, which did not seem to contravene principles he was bound to consider immutable. It is true that in the case of some of the improvements, institutions, and advances towards civilisation, the reason why such had never existed at Rome, was that shrewder men than Pius the Ninth (who willing the end had also willed the means) had perceived that such things were in their results and ultimate outcome incompatible with arrangements which they were fully minded to secure at all or any cost. And it is equally true that Pius the Ninth was as fully minded as any one of the most high-handed and violent of his predecessors, to maintain, secure, and perpetuate the arrangements and principles in question. But many circumstances at the outset of his career contributed to blind him to facts and truths, of which the wisdom of his predecessors and their advisers had not mistaken the significance. His own immense craving for applause and popularity was not the least of these. Had he lived a monk from his youth upward, like Gregory, had the Church marked him for her own from his earliest years, he might have contented himself, as other Churchmen greedy of fame have contented themselves, with the flatteries and the admiration of his caste, and with such immortality as the Church writers of history can award to their heroes. But he had lived in the world,

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and he wanted the admiration of the world, the *vivas* and the applause of men and women. Again, he wanted to do good to his subjects. There is no reason to doubt that he liked beneficence and well-doing for their own sake; and it is quite unmistakable that the circumstances of the time admonished him that they were needed for his own behoof. It was plain to all men, and to almost all priests, that a year or two more of Gregory would have brought matters to an explosion, with results utterly unforeseeable; and all voices in all languages were exhorting the new Pope that the way, the only way, to avoid this danger was to make concessions, to grant things tending to what the Liberal opinion of the age considered to be improvement. The general state of men's minds in all parts of Europe at that period must be taken into consideration. Europe appeared to be on the point of making a "new departure"—a fresh start. Liberalism, and the desire for a new and ameliorated order of things, was in the atmosphere. A new era was to begin; and what could be more enticing, more intoxicatingly delightful to such a man as Giovanni Mastai, than the idea of placing himself at the head of the new renaissance of the nations—of being at once the captain and the standard-bearer, first in solid power and first in showy leadership, of the advancing host?

Before the end of 1846 the new Pontiff had already instituted a commission charged to examine various projects for railways in the pontifical dominions. Gregory the Sixteenth would not hear of railways; they were an abomination to him. Gregory was an ignorant and stupid man; Pius a less ignorant and much less stupid one. But Gregory judged rightly in this matter: and Pius, led away by the influences described in the preceding paragraph, judged wrongly. He has discovered by this time what Gregory's priest-instinct truly taught him, that steam-engines and their works are incompatible with papal pretensions and purposes. Many projects of lines of railway were proposed. The commission selected for immediate consideration one from Rome, by Ancona, to Bologna, and thence to the frontier of the Modenese territory.

In April of this year (1847) the Pontiff established infant asylums, and a more dangerous innovation, evening schools and Sunday schools for the sons of artisans. In the autumn he re-

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established the Academy of the Lincei, which had been founded in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for the cultivation of the physical sciences, and had very naturally fallen into decay and oblivion because the cultivation of the physical sciences had become incompatible with the security of the Papacy. Pius the Ninth, wrong again where his predecessors had been right, re-established this dangerous society, endowed it, and entitled it "Pontifical." Of course it has to be said, in his excuse, that he had no smallest notion of what cultivation of physical sciences meant, if it meant anything, beyond the naming of butterflies and queer-shaped shells and plants. But all the treacherous world applauded him for what he was doing, many of them well knowing that he was committing suicide.

A little later he declared himself first associate and protector of a society for the amelioration and cultivation of the Campagna. Wrong again! Indeed, one thing has at least been made clear to the world—that a reforming Pope cannot do right. Improve and cultivate the Campagna indeed! as if its present condition of uncultivation had not come from the entailing arrangements and mortmain holdings of religious corporations. And how could these be meddled with, without endangering the papal throne and system?

One safe and Pope-like thing he did! By brief, dated the 17th of June, 1847, he instituted a new order of chivalry, which he called the Ordine Piano, to be bestowed on those who should deserve well of the Apostolic See. But nobody gave him much praise for this; it was not the sort of thing that was wanted by that treacherous world that was hounding him on by its flatteries to his destruction.

But a far, very far more dangerous innovation than any of these was one which was initiated by a circular addressed, on the 19th of April, by Cardinal Gizzi, Secretary of State, to all the governors of provinces. This was nothing less than the institution of a board of councillors, to be chosen from the different provinces, sent up to Rome, there to deliberate in council and advise the Holy Father. The members were to be chosen by himself from names proposed by the governors of provinces; they were to be men of distinguished social position, and well known as well-affectioned subjects of the Apos-

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tolic See, and to have the confidence of their fellow-citizens. It was declared to be the Pope's purpose to avail himself of the assistance of these councillors for the better administration of public affairs, and also for the better ordering of the communal councils which had been already established. This institution was the beginning of the end! Mazzini and the leaders of the "Giovane Italia" smiled grimly as they saw the Pontiff place himself on the well-greased slide of the inclined plane which was to shoot him over the precipice. Poor old Lambruschini and the other Gregorian remnants felt as men must feel on board of a ship, the rudder of which has been entrusted in a storm to a raving maniac!

Four and twenty nominations were made. We find Marco Minghetti among the number, as member for Bologna. Antonelli, promoted to the purple on the 12th of June, 1847, was named president; and on the 14th of November the solemn opening of the Council took place. It was a very grand and solemn affair. The members of the new Council went in a body to the Quirinal to express their gratitude to the Pontiff, who made a speech, reminding them of the extent of their functions. This allocution naturally and necessarily took the shape rather of a warning as to what they were not to do, than any very precise instructions as to what was expected of them. If the words of the Holy Father, however, might have been found insufficient in this respect, supplementary instruction was provided by despatching the new councillors in a body to the Basilica of the Vatican, there to seek and receive "illumination from heaven." The Roman world was very much impressed by this, or, at least, by the manner in which it was done. Four and twenty of the leading patrician families in Rome lent four and twenty state carriages for the purpose, and one councillor got into each of these. Each carriage was preceded by a band of music, by banners, and troops in due quantities and proportions, and was followed by a party of citizens from the town of each member, three of them bearing standards with the arms of the town, its name, and the name of its deputy. The procession thus formed went from the Quirinal to the Vatican, and there the councilmen sought celestial "illumination." Thence they adjourned to the hall provided for them in the Vatican, and held their first meeting. The rem-

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embrance of it at the present date, just thirty years subsequently, must form a singular page in the memories of the survivors of that Council. When Marco Minghetti trudges to his daily work of interpellating and replying to interpellations at Monte Citorio, I wonder whether he ever thinks of his first progress in a gilt coach to the opening of the first Roman parliament.

"Every window along the line of the procession had drapery hanging from it of material more or less splendid, more or less fresh in condition. A very large display of tapestry also ornamented many of the walls. Yellow sand strewn along the whole distance hid from the eye for awhile the usual filth of the Roman streets, and at every few yards huge banners were suspended or wreaths of evergreens across the street, bearing pithy and significative inscriptions expressive of the expectations of the people with regard to the new Council which was passing beneath them to its first meeting. These banners and their legends were the most remarkable thing connected with the occasion. They were selected, prepared, and hung up without any reference to or communication with the authorities whatsoever; and a circumstance curiously indicative of inconsistency on the part of the Government occurred with regard to these inscriptions. On the following morning appeared a printed sheet, sold about the streets, containing the collection of them, from which here and there a line had been erased by the Censorship. And yet the flags bearing the obnoxious words were permitted to continue hanging before the eyes of the citizens all the following day; while the hiatus marked with points in the paper, which was in everybody's hand, of course served to direct attention especially to the inscriptions thus stigmatised. The first two lines of one, which the Censorship altogether erased from the printed sheets, were: 'Difformità di culto non importi civile servitù'); and the remainder of the epigraph was only an expansion of the same sentiment. Another legend bade the Council to 'open to the daring minds of all the sons of Italy all the fountains of the arts and sciences, and never fail to remember that intellect is power.' From this the Censor erased the words '*of all the sons of Italy*,' the object being, of course, to avoid giving offence to Austria. Another banner bore the words, 'Let your speech be as bold as our hopes are and your

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counsels great as are the needs of the people.' Another, 'Oh Councillors, give us light by instruction, bread by commerce, strength by arms! Be the palladium of our rights, the glory of the nation.' Not a few of these inscriptions recalled to the remembrance of the new deputies the connection between privileges and responsibilities; warned them that all eyes will be on them; reminded them that their conduct will have to undergo a rigorous examination; that a day of severe reckoning awaits them; and one hinted that 'unfruitful boughs will be lopped from the tree of State, and replaced by better grafts;' with other similarly expressive words of warning. Beneath all these sententious saws, and between closely-packed masses of the citizens, and tall houses, every window of which was filled with gazing faces, but all as silent as the grave, the four and twenty councilmen wound their way in the four and twenty gala coaches, most of them looking anxious and excited, and some nervous and agitated enough. Had it not been for the military bands, the procession might have been deemed that of a funeral, so depressingly silent were the vast multitudes which thronged the streets. As soon as the close of the procession had entered the church of St. Peter's, the crowd rushed in through the four vast doors, all thrown open. And a striking suggestion of the vastness of the space of the huge fabric was afforded by the wonderful manner in which the multitudes seemed literally to be absorbed by the mighty building. The thousands poured in, circulated freely, and yet there was space to spare. At the eastern altar a mass was celebrated with the music of the military bands which had accompanied the procession, and the effect, taken in conjunction with the ideas calculated to be produced by the nature of the occasion, was felt by those present to be very grand indeed—to many of them quite overpowering. The colossal statues of departed Pontiffs, the tyrants of the Church and of mankind, sat around, and seemed to gaze from their marble tombs at the novel scene with astonishment and indignation."*

"Pius the Ninth is an excellent man"—thus wrote the hand which now writes these lines on the evening of the day in ques-

* The above description was penned by the present writer immediately after witnessing the scene described.

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tion, when the first meeting of the new Consulta had taken place—"but he is a Pope, and he little dreams—at least, if his secret thoughts and his public words at all agree—of the consequences which are involved in the new institutions he has been creating. But Rome understands them otherwise, thinks otherwise, means otherwise. The speech which Pius made to his new councillors tells the deputies that he has not the slightest intention of lessening the power of the pontifical sovereignty, which he considers himself 'bound to hand down to his successor whole and unimpaired as he received it from God and his predecessors.' He tells them that 'those are greatly deceived who fancy that the duties of the new Council are aught beyond giving an opinion when asked to do so;' and that they 'are greatly deluded who see in it a realization of their own Utopias and the germs of an institution incompatible with the papal sovereignty.'

"The Holy Father may *intend*," continued the present writer, noting the impressions of the hour on that same evening, "to hand down the despotic power wielded by his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter whole and entire. But were he to die to-morrow, and were his successor to be the most furious *oscurantista* and stoutest champion of despotic power that the Sacred College could furnish, he would find the papal power transmitted to him by no means 'whole and entire,' but clipped, hedged in, and bounded in every direction. A progress has already been made which it is quite impossible to retrace."

A curious circumstance connected with the memorable event of that day, and which indeed was the cause of that strange silence of the multitude above recorded, deserves to be mentioned.

It had been intended by those leaders of the people, who had arranged the popular portion of the proceedings of the day, that all the foreign nations represented in Rome should take part in the procession, each marching under its own flag. It became known, however, that the Lombards and the Neapolitans had determined on marching with their flags furled and craped, in token of mourning for the political condition of their respective countries. It was known also that it was intended that while the other foreign flags, especially that of England, should be received with applause by the Romans, that of France

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should be suffered to pass in utter silence, in token of the dissatisfaction of the Italians at the conduct of the French Government towards Italy. These circumstances induced the Austrian, Neapolitan, and French Ministers to make application to the Papal Government to prevent any such exhibition of feeling, and the result was the prohibition of all participation by foreign nations in the business of the day.

Thus was completed the inauguration of an institution, which, ephemeral enough in its own original form, was in fact the thin end of the wedge, the insertion of which into the ancient system of the papal rule was destined to shatter it for ever.

There were no doubt many on the right hand and on the left—the old councillors of Gregory and the Gregorians, as they were called, in general on the one side, and the popular wire-pullers of the secret societies on the other—who, with diametrically opposed wishes, hopes and fears, both clearly enough say and understood that which Pius and those immediately around him seem to have been blind to!

And wonderful it seems that they should have failed even for a while to recognise the truth of that "*Sit ut sunt, aut non sint,*" which they so soon afterwards acknowledged and adhered to.

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CHAPTER XI.

LORD MINTO IN ITALY.—ITALIAN TESTIMONY TO HIS CONDUCT THERE.—LORD PALMERSTON'S INSTRUCTIONS.—PELLEGRINO ROSSI.—NEITHER PALMERSTON NOR ROSSI SAW WHITHER MATTERS WERE TENDING.—CAUSES OF THIS.—SPEECH OF THE PONTIFF TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTA.—DISCONTENT CAUSED BY IT.—NEWSPAPERS IN ROME.—THE CLANDESTINE PRESS.—THE "CIRCOLI."—SEDITIOUS CRIES ON OCCASION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE ANNUNCIATION.—EXCURSION OF THE POPE TO SUBIACO.—INCIDENT OF HIS RETURN JOURNEY.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE ELECTION OF PIUS THE NINTH.—CRIES OF THE CROWD ON THE QUIRINAL, AND INSCRIPTIONS ON BANNERS.—PETITION OF THE "CIRCOLI."—PROCLAMATION RECOMMENDING ABSTENTION FROM MEETINGS, AND STATING POPE'S DETERMINATION.—IMMEDIATE DISOBEDIENCE OF THE DEMONSTRATIONISTS.—CREATION OF THE GUARDIA CIVICA.—RESIGNATION OF GIZZI.

IN the autumn of 1847 Lord Minto arrived in Rome. It is not necessary to occupy any space in telling English readers the nature and scope of his somewhat unusual and extraordinary mission, or in showing that its objects were wholly and solely what it was professed they were. But it is worth while to observe that the Italians were by no means persuaded at the time that such was the case. "Those," says Farini,* "who conceive alarms at the sight of any diplomatist, and who had borrowed from France among other things a distrust of the proverb-branded Albion, filled their minds with suspicions of all sorts respecting Lord Minto and his mission. Some thought he was sent to discover plots, and put a bridle on revolutionary schemes. Others were persuaded that his errand was to make plots and help forward revolutions. . . . The fact is that Lord Minto, an honourable gentleman and a sagacious diplomatist, did nothing which misbecame either character. He counselled the sovereigns to take those measures and to observe towards their subjects that good faith which would

* Lo Stato Romano dall' anno 1815 al 1850," lib. ii. ch. 8.

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have secured the safety of the Governments, and recommended to the populations that moderation which was fitted to lead to liberty; and in this fashion he honourably served his own Government while deserving well of Italy. But he was made the mark for stupid suspicions which history disdains. The letter of Lord Palmerston, dated from London, the 18th September, 1847, which has since been published, proves that the English Government charged Lord Minto to assure the Sardinian Government of its sincere and cordial friendship, and to declare that the English Government considered the Austrian threats of invasion on account of the organic changes then expected in Piedmont an inexcusable act of flagrant violation of international rights. Similarly in Florence he was charged to encourage the Grand Duke in the new direction which he appeared to have given to his policy; and alike at Turin, at Florence, and at Rome his mission was to study the best means of bringing to the minds of the rulers the opinions of England, which were to the effect that no power had any right to interfere with the reforming tendencies of an another."*

With regard more especially to the Papal Government, Farini cites a further passage from Lord Palmerston's letter, in which it is recited that the Governments of Austria, England, Prussia, Russia and France had recommended a large scheme of reform to the late Pope in 1831, which had been followed by no results. The letter goes on to say that the British Government is not aware whether the reforms inaugurated by Pius the Ninth had reached the extent of those recommended in the Memorandum of 1831, and presumes that the Powers which concurred in that Memorandum are ready to encourage and assist the Pope in the complete realization of the reforms recommended to his predecessor. In any case, it is said, the British Government is prepared so to act; and "you are charged to reassure the Roman Government on this head, and to say that the Queen's Government would not see with indifference any aggression directed against the Roman territory with a view to impede the Ponti-

* Farini gives a long extract from Lord Palmerston's letter; but the gist of it only is what is given compendiously in the text.

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fical Government in the realization of such internal reforms as it may judge to be desirable."*

"Such," continues Farini, "was the mission of Lord Minto; and to this his words and actions corresponded. Let those, therefore, who were stricken down by the revolution, let those who fell to rise again, and those who fell to rise no more, cease to blame Lord Minto, England, or any other fantastically imagined cause of the defeats suffered, and the miseries undergone by the country. Let each rather blame his own deficiency in nobility and virtue of mind, his own errors, his own faults; for in truth every one of us has good reason to do so!"

Speaking still of those same autumn months of 1847, Farini says: "Against Rossi, the Ambassador of France, too, murmurs were raised with that amount of sense and justice which are wont to distinguish the politicians of the moment, and partisans drunk with party spirit. We Italians, children as we are, adopt all the Gallic loves and hatreds. And thus in 1847, as ever, we took part with that French parliamentary opposition, which, for the sake of spiting a ministry, and overthrowing a minister, sapped the Throne, the State, and itself. And we mistook our unsatisfied appetites for glory, and our noise for Liberalism, and envy of Guizot for love to Italy! And we lisped the French contumelies, after French fashion, against the King and the Ministers of France; and Rossi, their ambassador in Rome, was an incubus to our exquisitely sagacious street politicians! And Rossi, too, was charged by his Government to animate the Pope to proceed freely and speedily with his reforms, so as not to run the risk of having to give by force that which he might and ought to give spontaneously. And this mission Rossi fulfilled with singular diplomatic prudence, and, more than that, with all the love of an Italian, which in truth he always was."

The picture thus given by the historian of the condition of the popular mind at Rome during that all-important autumn is an accurate one, as the present writer can testify as an eye-witness. But Farini would not have written exactly as he

* This passage from Lord Palmerston's letter has been re-translated from the Italian version, and may therefore be found not to correspond word for word with the English original. The sense is, however, accurately given.

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wrote, had he composed his history subsequently to the publication of those revelations referred to in a previous chapter, which disclose the active part which the secret societies were taking during all that time in managing and manipulating the movements, and the cries, and the contentments and discontentments of the Roman populace. They knew what they wanted, and they were following a very skilfully and thoughtfully traced path for the attainment of it. But Lord Palmerston and Rossi, the English Government and the French, did not at all contemplate the issue, or desire the outcome, that Mazzini and his friends desired. And the surprising thing is that the former should have failed to see that the path they were pursuing, and urging the Pope to pursue, led necessarily whither Mazzini intended it should lead, and not to the green pastures they flattered themselves they should reach by it! For certainly neither the English nor the French diplomatist desired or contemplated the destruction of the temporal power of the Papacy.

Whence did the possibility of such an error arise? It arose, I think, from the same causes that place the "old Catholics" of the present day in a logically untenable position. They say that the Papacy has changed Catholicism, and that they have not changed. But to show this to be so, they go back to the primitive ages. And moving the venue to that date, they are right. But they accepted the Catholicism of half a century ago. And (with the exception of the Immaculate Conception, itself but a recognition, not an invention) nothing has been changed since that time. Only logical sequences have been pitilessly educed, recognised, and proclaimed. The jog-trot, comfortable old Church, which those accepted who now say that they cannot live in the Church such as Pius the Ninth has made it, was such as they found tolerable only by dint of *quieta non movere*—letting things alone, not poking into the consequences of theories, not insisting that a thing should be taken to mean all that it necessarily implies and involves; and by willingness that common assertions and professions should be silently understood to mean one thing by one person and another by others.

Now the old diplomatists, who knew the Church as it had appeared any time for the last two hundred years in

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protocols and conference chambers, and the conversations and despatches of Nuncios and Secretaries of State, but who knew nothing about the Church as she appeared—or rather as she did not appear, but as she might have been discovered to be—in the doctrinal definitions of councils, and the bulls and briefs of a long line of Pontiffs, were, in a like error, more excusably, seeing that their business had never been with the Church, save in its capacity as a State. Their advice, therefore, and their proposals with regard to the Papacy were those of statesmen dealing with a State—a Government. They knew that Europe was in an explosive condition. They knew that one of the most dangerous and unventilated parts of the mine was those ancient workings in the deep Papacy shaft. And they imagined that light and air might be let into those, and safety attained there, as in others, by the same means! For the outside world to know the Church, as we all now know it—its real desires, its real professions, its real principles and objects—it was absolutely necessary that the temporal power should be at en end. Before that, the Ecclesiastical Church was hidden, eclipsed by the State Church, which had to talk a very different language, and exhibit itself under a very different aspect. The inevitable "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*," could not possibly have been seen and understood by Lord Palmerston and by Pellegrino Rossi, as we now see and understand it.

But there were people about Pius the Ninth who began to understand it well enough in the course of that autumn and winter. They would have understood it sooner, had it not been that they were ignorant of just the other side of the equation, from that which the diplomatists could not understand. The advisers of Pius knew what their Church was and wanted well enough; but they did not sufficiently appreciate and understand the meaning and consequences involved in the measures of reform they acceded to. But very soon after the establishment of the Consulta in November, 1847, they began to do so.

I have said that the speech which the Pope made to the persons who had been chosen to form the new *Consulta*, consisted in great part of warnings respecting the limits of their mission, and that statements of what they were expected to do were largely mingled with very strictly-spoken prohibitions of what they were *not* to do. Now it was observable that these

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portions of the Holy Father's address were known throughout the city in the twinkling of an eye! "Let it be considered desirable," says Farini, "to raise doubts and misgivings in men's minds: and to insinuate that the Pope was disinclined to grant those larger concessions which the people desired, and which perchance the condition of the times might demand, for from doubt to mistrust is but a step; and from the latter to agitation and disturbance is but another; and when there are materials for suspicion to work upon, it is easy to make mistrust and agitation a lever for moving popular passions."

The remark indicates that the historian was aware that some at least among the leaders of the people at Rome were already consciously bent on forcing the Pontiff's hand. But he did not know that all this was done according to a matured plan and in obedience to orders received from the leaders of the secret societies.

The proclamation which announced the institution of the *Consulta* was dated the 19th of April; but the meeting of the members did not take place till the 14th of November; and it is necessary to go back a little from this latter date, to mention a few of the symptomatic events that were almost from day to day indicating the direction of the popular current in Rome.

One of the signs of the times was the sudden multiplication of newspapers. In old times there had existed but one newspaper in Rome, the *Diario*, founded in 1616, and appearing twice a week. Another, to appear weekly, was added in 1815, which was called *Notizie del Giorno*. On the 12th of December, 1846, the *Contemporaneo*, announced as a "progressive but moderate" journal, and counting amongst its founders the Prelate Gazzola, and Masi the Secretary of Carlo Buonaparte, Prince of Canino—the same who subsequently, when selling the estate of Canino, which carried the title of "Prince" with it, insisted on the insertion of a separate article in the treaty specifying that five *pauls*, about a couple of shillings, was to be paid extra for the title—to mark his valuation of it. The *Contemporaneo* was soon followed in the course of this 1847 by several others, some of which obtained a considerable local celebrity, as the *Bilancia*, the *Italico*, the *Pallade* and the *Sparanza*. These were all of them moderate in their tone, and

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professed opinions consentaneous with the views of the Holy Father.

There existed, however, still a Censorship, to which these papers were subjected; and, inasmuch as neither the existence of any Censorship whatever, nor the political tone of these authorized journals satisfied the masses, whose ideas were daily more and more outrunning the intentions of the Government, a clandestine journalism soon arose, which found the means of escaping the vigilance of the police, and continually excited the people to new demands and more radical measures of change.

Another means of keeping alive the political effervescence and propagating revolutionary ideas was discovered in the institution of clubs; *Circoli* as they were called, the real object of all of which, however, partially disguised in some of them by various other objects (more or less overtly pretexts), was political discussion. The first was a "Società Artistica," in which besides those indicated by the name of the society many persons of note were enrolled, as the Cardinal Morini, the Count of Syracuse, the Princes Aldrobrandini, Borghese, Doria, and the Dukes Salviati and Torlonia. Many other *Circoli* were very shortly established in imitation of the first, as that of the Lawyers, that of the Medical men, that of the Students, and even one of the Clergy. Another also was founded for the people. But very little time elapsed before these clubs began to make their influence felt as organs of what in fact was sedition. And it was one of the most singular indications of the confused condition of men's minds, and of the wonderful degree in which a large portion of the people were being led blindfold they knew not whither, to see such men as those who have been named above taking a part in such associations. But the fact was, that not only did the persons named and the classes to which they belonged not know whither the path they were pursuing necessarily led, but no man knew how far in the direction in which they were all going the Pontiff meant to go; how far it was safe to go; how far it was necessary to go, in order to avoid the catastrophe which all saw to have been imminent at the death of Gregory the Sixteenth.

Gradually, however, it became clearer and clearer that the

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populace was taking the bit between its teeth, and that danger was at hand. The Pontiff was still dosed with the soothing syrup of flattery, which seemed to have lulled him into deafness to warnings, hardly, one would have thought, to be mistaken.

On the 25th of March, the festival of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the Pontiff went in state, according to immemorial custom, to the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. An immense concourse of people lined the streets through which he passed, and as usual the shouts of "Evviva!" and vociferations expressive of devotion to Pius the Ninth were as abundant and as noisy as ever. But they were mingled with cries of "Down with Gizzi!" the Secretary of State recently so popular! "Viva Pio Nono *alone!*" "Take courage, Holy Father!" "Have faith in the people!" and other such like significant words.

Towards the end of May in that year the Holy Father made a little excursion to Subiaco, a little town among the Sabine hills, some twelve miles or so behind Tivoli (once celebrated for the Benedictine convent, built over the cave in which St. Benedict for awhile had his habitation), returning to Rome on the 31st. At the second milestone outside the Porto San Lorenzo, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Basilica di San Lorenzo, the fine old mosaics of which were subsequently restored by the care and cost of the present Pontiff, he was met by a vast crowd, with as usual the inevitable Ciceruacchio at their head. There were the usual noisy greetings, in the midst of which a knot of young men advanced to the Pope's carriage, stopped it, and handed him a petition which was in fact a violent complaint of the Governor of Rome, the Prelate Grassellini, for his severity against the printers and sellers of the clandestine papers. The Pope became very angry, and ordered the postilions to proceed. "He was consoled," naively writes the historian* Coppi, "by finding when he arrived at the Quirinal, the whole piazza full of people assembled to welcome his return." Neither the poor vanity-deluded Pope nor the his-

* "Annals, 1847," sect. xxxi. It may be mentioned that Coppi, the continuer of Muratori, who writes all the Roman portion of his annals as an eye-witness, is, though not without ecclesiastical sympathies, perfectly accurate and trustworthy.

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torian had any idea that the object of the crowd in coming was entirely the same as that of those who stopped his carriage at San Lorenzo!

Events, however, each one of which must have contributed to open his eyes to the real nature of the position, followed each other quickly one on the heels of another. The next day, the 1st of June, was the anniversary of the death of Gregory the Sixteenth; and the same people who were "encouraging" Pius the Ninth with their "evvivas" and shouting throngs, to give him a further hint of the direction in which he was expected to move, conceived the idea of "celebrating" the anniversary of the old Pope's death. There were banquets and revelry protracted far into the night, and rejoicings as odious in sentiment as they were revolutionary in intention. Of course everybody knew that poor old Gregory had been an obstacle and a misfortune, and that it was a good day for the world when he was taken away. But to celebrate his death in the fashion described was an indecent outrage to his successor, which could not have been perpetrated by men who had the smallest reverence, or felt the smallest goodwill towards the reigning Pontiff.

The "anniversary" of the death of the late Pope having been thus put to profit, the quickly succeeding "anniversary" of the election of his successor offered Ciceruacchio and the lazy vagabonds who "represented," not untruly, the Roman population, and obeyed his orders, the opportunity for more "demonstrations." It was determined that the inhabitants of the surrounding towns and villages should be invited to come into Rome to take part in the festival. Ciceruacchio made a tour to Albano, Genzano, Marino, Frascati, Zagarolo, Tivoli, Subiaco, etc., etc., and enlisted in all these places large numbers of recruits for the monster demonstration. On the morning of the 17th of June, accordingly, an immense concourse of people assembled in the Forum. They had banners for each of the "Rioni," or wards of Rome, banners for each of the towns in the neighbourhood, and some from cities at a greater distance, as from Bologna. There were flags, too, on which were inscribed such words as "Instruction!" "A Code!" "Railways!" "Pius the Ninth, the Father of his country!" "Fœdus populi!" and the like. All the huge multitude was after a while got into organised movement, and proceeded to

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the Quirinal. There "a hymn" fitted to the occasion was sung; and the poor befooled Pontiff, still delighted at finding himself the object of so much admiration, and the cynosure of so many eyes, blessed and thanked, and thanked and blessed as usual. In the afternoon, in the church of Santa Maria degli Angioli, one Gavazzi, a Barnabite monk, who subsequently contrived to obtain a larger audience for his vulgar and insincere eloquence, preached to the crowd, and obtained applause by his diatribes against Gregory the Sixteenth.

Meanwhile the agitators in the clubs—the Circoli, of which mention has been made—were actively contributing to the approaching catastrophe. A petition was got up couched in the terms of fulsome flattery, which were so dear to the Pontiff's ears, but plainly expressing distrust of his advisers, and urging him to "trust to the people," a recommendation the very terms of which might almost have been copied from the old tale of the fox and the goose! Coming events, however, followed each other so quickly, that the petition was never presented. But the Government were not unaware of the intention, or ignorant of the contents, of the document which had been prepared.

It would seem to have been about this time, after one year of glorious sailing before the favouring gale of popularity and the admiration of mankind, that Pius began to conceive some degree of alarm as to the possible dangers of the course in which he was being carried along in that *maelstrom* of popularity—a fear lest an upset might come from the continually increasing velocity of the progress of the car of State! And the result was a proclamation issued by Cardinal Gizzi on the 22nd of June. In this document the Romans were reminded that Pius the Ninth, having mounted the throne eager for the welfare of his subjects, and anxious only to do good to them, had in the single year which had elapsed since his election, accomplished much. He had listened to the needs, the complaints, the sorrows of all. He had admitted all persons to his presence without distinction of rank. He had given his attention to plans for public education. He had accorded lines of railway. He had formed a commission of jurists of the highest character for the revision and amelioration of the Roman legislation. He had been engaged on plans for a municipality for the city of Rome. He had created a council of ministers. He had called

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from the provinces to the capital men of uprightness and capacity (the Consulta) to assist him in ameliorating the finances of the State. "And Pius," the proclamation went on to state, "was fully minded to proceed in the same path of improvement. But he was equally determined to do so only with well-pondered and gradual progress, wisely, moderately, and *within those limits determined by the conditions essential to the sovereignty and the temporal government of the head of the Catholic Church.*" This last phrase of course hit, right in the bull's-eye, the nucleus of the whole difficulty of the situation. And those who knew anything of the "conditions essential to the sovereignty and the temporal government of the head of the Catholic Church," ought to have perceived with the utmost clearness that this was a difficulty that could not be turned, or overcome; that it was simply, and once for all, fatal to the notion of bringing the temporal government of a Pope into conformity with the constitutional notions prevailing in the other countries of Europe, and the wishes of his own subjects.

"Under these circumstances," the proclamation goes on to to say, "it has been with great pain that the Holy Father has seen, that certain evil-minded persons wished to take advantage of the present state of things to set forth and cause the prevalence of doctrines and ideas wholly contrary to his maxims, and to urge him, and impose on him notions utterly opposed to the tranquil and peaceful character, and the sublime position of him who is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the minister of a God of peace, and the common father of all Catholics. It saddens the Holy Father that these evil-minded men should excite in the people, by spoken words and by writings, desires and expectations of reforms which extend beyond the limits above indicated." Fortunately, however, the proclamation goes on to say, as such proclamations invariably do say, such evil-minded men are very few, and the vast majority of right-minded men will continue to restrain them, as has hitherto been the case. And now at the end of the first year of his pontificate, the Holy Father desires a proof of the gratitude and devotion of his loving subjects, which he trusts they will give him by discontinuing all unusual popular gatherings and manifestations, and by maintaining that state of calm, order, and concord which most become a people, &c.

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But the Government soon found that it was too late in the day to hope for obedience to any such *requests*. On the 4th of July, Ciceruacchio assembled a huge crowd at the Torre di Quinto, outside the Porta del Popolo. The pretext was to prevent the Jews from being insulted; the real object, to make and to hear the usual exciting speeches, and to spend a day in drinking and idleness for patriotic purposes.

It was amid these circumstances, becoming more threatening from day to day, that the Pope determined on taking the very important step of creating a "Civic Guard," so called by the authorities; but the people from the first insisted on calling it a "National Guard." The notion that a bulwark against the rising sea of popular violence might be provided by such means seems to indicate that the authorities really believed the statement made in the proclamation, to the effect that the enemies of the Government were but few. It was not long, however, before the results of the measure revealed to them the truth on this point. The decree creating this "Guardia Civica," which was to consist of every male inhabitant throughout the States of the Church, between twenty-one and sixty, who possessed property, or kept a shop, or was the head of an industrial establishment, bears date the 30th of July, 1847.

Cardinal Gizzi, the Secretary of State, had from the first disapproved of the creation of the Civic Guard, deeming the institution a dangerous one, especially in the Legations. He therefore resigned on the 6th of July, and was replaced by the Cardinal Gabriele Ferretti, who was, at the time, Legate of Urbino and Pesaro.

Gizzi thus jumped from the machine in time to save himself from the coming catastrophe.

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CHAPTER XII.

CARDINAL GIZZI'S RESIGNATION.—BANQUET TO CICERUACCHIO.—AGAIN ON THE 29TH JULY.—STATUE OF HIM.—FRATERNISATION OF TROOPS WITH CIVIC GUARD.—CONFEDERATION OF STATES.—MAZZINI'S LETTER TO PIUS THE NINTH.—PIUS ALWAYS A PRIEST BEFORE ALL ELSE.—INAUGURATION OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF ROME, 24TH NOVEMBER.—BANNERS OF THE RIONI CONSIGNED TO MUNICIPALITY.—CARDINAL ALTIERI.—THE CAPI-POPOLO.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE POPE'S NAME DAY, 27TH OF DECEMBER.—THE THIRTY-FIVE TABLETS WITH INSCRIPTION OF DEMANDS.—CICERUACCHIO DEPOSITS THEM AT THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE determination of Cardinal Gizzi to abandon the helm should have been a very significative warning to the Pontiff of the rocks ahead. Gizzi knew the people he had to deal with, and the special difficulties with which the Government had to struggle, far better than the Pope did; and he was a man possessing an intelligence of very much superior calibre to that of the Holy Father. And it is very natural that this should have operated to prevent the Pope from having full confidence in his judgment. When he was gone things continued to advance in the path prepared for them.

On the 18th of July, the "Circolo Romano" offered a banquet to Ciceruacchio, in attestation of gratitude for the services he had rendered in preventing the popular enthusiasm from breaking out into acts of disorder. Prince Aldobrandini presided, with Ciceruacchio (in his ordinary working dress; not because he had not plenty of good coats, for he was a wealthy man, but in homage to the ideas of the time) at his right hand, and Professor Orioli, the oldest man present, on his left. The Prince of Piombino and the Duke of Rignano were among the guests. A golden snuff-box was presented to the hero of the feast during the banquet. On the 5th of September, at the drawing of a lottery which had been arranged for the benefit of the amnestied prisoners and exiles, Cardinal Ferretti, the new

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Secretary of State, who was presiding, called Ciceruacchio to him, and spoke to him in the most flattering terms. On the 29th of the same month, the day dedicated to St. Angelo, Ciceruacchio's christened name, another banquet was given in his honour; and the sculptor Russetti made a statue of him, from which a vast number of small-sized copies were taken, which might have been seen in the rooms of all the magnates of Rome! With such bullock-like stupidity did they enter the slaughter-house one after the other! With such naïve simplicity did they flatter and bribe their saviour of society, the tavern-keeper, in their gratitude to him for not injuring his own plans and hopes by undue precipitation! I have never met in these latter days with one of these statuettes, once so abundant; and doubt whether one is to be seen in Rome! *Sic transit!*

The next step in advance was to make sure of the disposition of the papal troops; and this was accomplished by a grand "fraternisation" between them and the Guardia Civica, which took place on the 7th of October on the meadows near the Ponte Milvio, whence the civic troops and the regulars marched into the city together late in the evening, amid the enthusiastic shoutings and greetings of the people.

In careful and well-arranged obedience to the instructions given by Mazzini, above referred to, and printed in an appendix to this volume, the idea put forward by those who were aspiring to the destruction of all the then constituted governments in Italy, and the unity of the peninsula under one republican *régime*, was that of a "Confederation" of the various existing States. And Pius the Ninth, blinded as usual by his vanity, and craving for the "glory" of placing himself at the head of such a confederation, was not only favourable to the idea, but boasted that the conception was his own.* As a step towards realizing it, a customs union between the Roman States, Tuscany, and Piedmont was proposed and carried into effect.

It was about this time that Mazzini, true to his maxim of leading the great ones of the earth by their vanity, without allowing them to know more of the way in which they were be-

* "Gazetta di Roma," 1847, No. 153.

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ing led than the first step before them, wrote a remarkable letter to Pius the Ninth, instigating him to bring about the unification of Italy, and pointing out to him that for the accomplishment of this end there was no need for him to take any active step, but only to bless those who should act in his name. It lay with him, he went on to observe, to exercise the noble power of making those two terms, "God" and the "People," which had been too often fatally disjoined, united, and potent in a beautiful and holy harmony, to direct the destinies of the nations! Here, as on every other occasion, Mazzini showed himself a consummate master of the art of knowing how best to influence those whom he would lead. And Pius was willing enough to accept the *rôle* proposed to him; and, indeed, tried it, until it became too evident for even him to be blind to the fact, that it was fatally and for ever incompatible with the ecclesiastical pretensions of his position. For Pius was, and has consistently been throughout, a priest before all else. The Church may well make much of him; for he has been true to her under every circumstance, and was ready, as soon as ever the necessity for choosing between the two became evident to him, to give up for her all his dreams of Italian primacy, of universal admiration, and a Saturnian reign of universal happiness and brotherhood in which he should be the grand central figure, and feast unceasingly on the admiring homage of mankind.

It would be too long to recount each one of the successive steps by which, on every recurring occasion, the populace, led by the *Capi-popolo*, as they were termed, advanced in the boldness and revolutionary nature of their demands. In a word, the programme which the arch-conspirator had laid down for them was carried out with an exactitude which indicates the perfection of the organization he and his lieutenants had succeeded in establishing. Each occasion, each anniversary—and every event of the new Papacy was made an occasion for an anniversary—each new concession, was made a cause for gatherings of the masses, to "thank, and demand more."

On the 24th of November came the inauguration of the new Municipality of Rome, and the *Capi-popolo*, at a loss for some means of hooking themselves on to the ceremonial of the occasion, took it into their heads that they would present to

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the municipal body the twenty-four standards which had been made for the twenty-four rioni (wards) of Rome, as considering them the proper custodians of them. The police authorities, who had always looked askance at these banners, and felt uneasy and suspicious of them, as aids and incentives to those never-ending assemblages of the people, favoured the notion of having them laid up in ordinary at the Municipality. They would have much preferred that they should have been burned; but they deemed them less likely to serve mischievous purposes while in the keeping of the municipal authorities, than while they remained in the private dwellings of the *Capi-popolo*. So a grand ceremony was organized, and the twenty-four banners, accompanied by all the idle vagabonds who wanted an excuse for making a holiday, were carried in procession to the Capitol, where one Piccioni, a tobacconist, made a patronising speech to the municipal councillors, telling them what their duty was, and bidding them take care to do it. Cardinal Altieri was presiding on the occasion, in his capacity of President of Rome and the Comarca; and it must have been a new experience to his Eminence, and, as it were, a landmark, showing how far the current had carried the barque of the State down the stream in a very short time, to hear himself thus addressed by a tobacconist!

The Cardinal, however, who, like most of his order, was beginning by this time to feel that it would be well for them indeed if they could get over what lay immediately before them at the cost of nothing worse than a little loss of dignity, dissembled his disgust, and replied, as a chronicler of the time tells us, with a fitting and prudent discourse, concluding by handing to each banner-carrier a medal in the name of Pius the Ninth, as a recompense for faithful obedience and filial affection. And, as a little indication of the road matters were following, and of the prudence of the Government, it should be borne in mind that these four-and-twenty *Capi-popolo*, as they called themselves, these chiefs of the people, were such by virtue of no sort of appointment or choice whatever, not even of election by their fellows. They were accepted as chiefs solely and entirely because they were more noisy than their equals, more wordy, more vain-glorious, and more determined to make a trade of leading the people instead of working at their own.

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There was another anniversary to be got over before, the weary year could get to an end—the festival of St. John, on the 27th of December—the "name-day" of the Pontiff. Of course something special was to be got up for this occasion; something, of course, which his so loving and grateful subjects knew must be pleasing and comforting to the ruler for whom they professed to feel such enthusiastic and boundless attachment. So they prepared—Ciceruacchio was the principal moving power upon this occasion—thirty-five tablets, to be carried on as many standards, which "the people" were to present to the eyes of the Pontiff, when they visited him on his birthday.

On these tablets were inscribed five and thirty new demands made on behalf of the people. "Liberty of the Press!"—"Emancipation of the Jews!"—"Banishment of the Jesuits!"—"Abolition of arbitrary action on the part of the police!"—"Codes of useful and impartial laws!"—"Abolition of entails!" "Abolition of mortmain!"—"Publicity of the acts of the Consulta!"—"Secularisation of employments!"—"Artillery for the Civic Guard!"—"Colonies in the Campagna!" with many more, and finally, "Faith in the people."

Many of these demands were for things extremely good and desirable, but utterly incompatible not only with the Pontiff's announced determination to hand down to his successors the power unimpaired which he had received from his predecessors, but with the existence of the temporal power of the Papacy; some of them were such as only a Government of absolute madmen could have dreamed of granting; such as the placing artillery in the hands of the Civic Guard!

A violent down-pour of rain on the 27th interfered somewhat with the plans of the demonstrationists. The tablets were all prepared; but the people could not be got to go with them at the cost of being wetted to the skin. Ciceruacchio therefore was obliged to carry them himself to the office of the Secretary of State, where he deposited them; and then having got together a hundred or so of raggamuffins, paid for the job, and prepared another tablet with the inscription—"On a day so joyful the Roman people makes no demand, but refers the Pope to the petitions presented by Ciceruacchio in the name of the people." He went with that and a band of music to the Quiri-

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nal, and there made the usual uproar. The Pope, who knew his summons well by this time, came out to the balcony, took no notice of the tablet or its inscription, but gave the people his blessing, and got in again as quick as he could!

His blessing? well! that is what the historians say!

And thus the year 1847 came to an end!

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CHAPTER XIII.

NEW COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.—NEW SENATE.—GENERAL ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN EUROPE.—IMPOSSIBILITIES OF THE SITUATION.—SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PONTIFF.—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.—WAR WITH AUSTRIA.—THE REAL DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE.—CRISIS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THIS FACT.—ADVANCE OF AUSTRIAN TROOPS.—DEPUTATION FROM THE "CIRCOLO ROMANO."—REPLY OF PIUS.—PROCLAMATION OF THE MINISTRY.—POPE'S ADDRESS TO THE ROMANS.—FIRST ALARM OF THE PONTIFF.—HIS SPEECH TO OFFICERS OF THE CIVIC GUARD.—DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUTION.—THE POPE'S CONDITIONAL BLESSING.—DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING THE POPE'S INTENTIONS.—THE POPE INDOCTRINATED WITH THE IDEAS OF GIOBERTI.—BUT TOO WEAK FOR THE PART.—FRESH RESIGNATIONS OF MINISTERS.—ANTONELLI AND MINGHETTI.—A CONSTITUTION PROMISED.—SPECIAL CHARACTER.—AND PUBLICATION OF IT.

THE Council of Ministers, which, in accordance with the papal decree of the 29th of December of the previous year, entered into office on the first of the new year, 1848, was thus composed: Cardinal Ferretti, Secretary of State, was also Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council; Cardinal Riario Sforza was Minister of Commerce, Fine Arts, Industry and Agriculture; Cardinal Mezzofanti, Public Instruction; Monsignore Camillo Amicci, Minister for Home Affairs; Monsignore Roberto Roberti, Minister of Justice; Monsignore Carlo Morichini, Minister of Finance; Monsignore Domenico Savelli, Minister of Police; and Monsignore Giovanni Rusconi, Minister of War. Within the month, however, Cardinal Ferretti resigned; and was succeeded by Cardinal Bofondi. And there were some other changes, of which it is only necessary to notice the appointment of the Commendatore Pompeo dei Principi Gabrielli, a Lieutenant-General, as Minister of War; every one of the others, it will be observed, being an ecclesiastic.

The new Senate also entered on its functions on the first of the year; and brought with it to the exercise of them so little of new knowledge or new ideas, that its first act was to order in true old Roman style, a distribution of a hundred and twenty

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thousand pounds of bread, and thirty thousand pounds of meat!

Any attempt to show how the general aspect of affairs in Europe at the beginning of that memorable year of 1848, and the events which followed each other so rapidly in the different countries of the Continent, influenced the state of men's minds, and the difficulties with which the Pontiff and his Government had to struggle, would lead us much too far afield, and too far away from the immediate subject of this volume. Fortunately the general story of those events is too fresh in the minds of all readers, for there to be any danger that this influence should be forgotten or misunderstood. Of course the position of the Papal Government was rendered far more critical by those events, and the task before it more arduous. And in speaking of the course pursued by the Papal Government, and the measures it adopted, it is now very easy to show that they were unwise, imprudent, and inspired by an entire blindness to the symptoms that were every day becoming more and more unmistakable around them. But it would be far more difficult to point out what better they could have done! In fact the task before them was an impossible rather than an arduous one. Every day and almost every hour of those months brought more and more irresistibly home to the conviction of those who were looking on, and it must be supposed also of those who were engaged in the desperate attempt to turn the Pope of Rome into a constitutional Sovereign, the ever fatal truth of the candidly spoken "*Sint ut sunt aut non sint.*" Stir the ingredients as they would, the oil and the vinegar would not combine! And the incidents that continued to follow each other with a rapidity that gave to life at Rome during those months almost the aspect of a stage dramatic representation, served only to show the futility of the attempt to make them do so.

No doubt the intense vaingloriousness of the Pope's character, and the exceeding pleasure it gave him to hear the "evvivas" and noisy homage of the people, and to believe in the transparent fiction of their affection for him (possibly genuine among the lowest classes, and during the first days);—no doubt this speciality of Pius the Ninth's character contributed to lead up to the events which followed, and to make the story of that portion of his life assume exactly the aspect it did assume.

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But it is difficult to suppose that a man of any other temperament could have conducted matters to a different issue, though he might have reached the same issue by a somewhat different path. It may safely be asserted that not even a Sixtus the Fifth could have conducted them to a successful one.

It is a curious question, however, how soon Pius the Ninth became aware that he was placed on a slippery inclined plane, and that to stop or even to moderate the speed of his descent over the surface of it, was entirely out of his power. The rapidity and prompt decision with which he flung himself off that dangerous inclined plane, and set to work with might and main to climb again the steep he had descended, as soon as the direction in which he was moving, and the goal to which he was tending, *were* unmistakably manifest to him, would seem to justify the supposition that he did not realize those facts till he took the steps in question. It seems the more remarkable that he should have been hoodwinked as long as he must be supposed to have been, from the fact that the advisers nearest to his person evidently were not so hoodwinked. Gizzi resigned! Ferretti resigned! Surely the outlook must have been a disquieting one! Lambruschini and the Gregorians, of course, knew well whither the barque of St. Peter was tending; but had they been called to the wheel, they would have instantly capsized the ship in putting her sharp about!

But the circumstances which actually did bring matters to a crisis at Rome, were not those that must necessarily have done so in the process of their ordinary working, if such ordinary working had been allowed to go on. Questions of internal government would have continued more and more to develop the incompatibility between all possible papal and constitutional rule. But there was nothing necessarily incompatible between the papal temporal power and the line of conduct which the Romans wished their Government to adopt with reference to foreign affairs. Yet it was a question connected with the latter that finally made a rupture between Pius and his subjects.

The real question of the day, the passion of the people, which was the real motive power at that time, was the independence of Italy from the yoke of the foreigner, and from that of the sovereigns, who were merely his lieutenants. Had even the King of

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Naples gone whole-heartedly into a war with Austria for the liberation of Lombardy and Venetia, his own throne would have been safe. Yet more so, had the Grand Duke of Tuscany ventured to cut himself adrift from the ties that bound him to Austria, and frankly made himself the ally of the King of Sardinia against Austria, his duchy would have been secured him, and no united Kingdom of Italy would be in existence at this hour. If the Pope, again, had taken the same line (and if he had done so the Grand Duke would become the firm ally of Sardinia) it is difficult to say what the result, as regards the Apostolic dominions, might have been. The notion of a confederation of constitutionally governed States, with the Pope and his State at the head of them, would have lasted somewhat longer. Austria would have been much puzzled ; for it would have been more difficult to compel the Pope to govern according to the old system in his own States, than to overcome the Italian forces in the field. But the world would have had the spectacle played out, instead of being cut short, of a Pope playing at constitutional government till the inherent nature of things brought the attempt to a dead-lock.

As it was, it was the demand of the Romans that the Pope should take up arms against Austria, which brought all the billing and cooing, the anniversaries and the "evvivas," and the benedictions and the affection, to a sudden ending.

The advance of the Austrian troops into the Modenese territory gave the Romans reason to fear that Austria might proceed to a military occupation of the States of the Church, or rather gave them an opportunity of speaking their fears aloud. There was no doubt at all that Austria was extremely displeased and indeed alarmed, by the liberalising tendencies of the Pope, coinciding in time, as they were, with successful rebellion in Naples, national Italian aspirations in Piedmont, disaffection with difficulty suppressed in Lombardy and Venetia, and temporising vacillation in Tuscany. The "Circolo Romano," a popular club, as has been explained, but to which many of the highest aristocracy belonged, determined to petition the Government to arm. And the "Consulta," that species of Parliament, the foundation of which was described in a former chapter, expressed its opinion in a like sense. But inasmuch as nothing was immediately done towards carrying out the

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opinion thus expressed, it became believed that the Ministry was opposed to the armament demanded, and a very considerable amount of agitation was the consequence. Prince Aldobrandini, and others of the "Circolo Romano," went on the morning of the 8th of February to the Pope at the Quirinal, to inform him of the discontent of the city, and beg him to hasten the arming of the troops. On the same day Ciceruacchio assembled a large crowd, which went to the Quirinal with the accustomed cries of "Vive Pio Nono, *solo!*" "Hurrah for Pio Nono without his advisers!" "Down with the men of bad faith!" "Hurrah for Italian Independence!" "Arms! Arms!" and the like. Ciceruacchio then went to Prince Corsini, as Senator, and to Prince Borghese as "Conservator of Rome," and induced them (strange as it seems now) to go with him to the Quirinal to urge the Holy Father to consent to the wishes of the people. In answer to their representations, Pius declared that he was in perfect accord with the King of Sardinia, and with the Grand Duke of Tuscany; that he should very shortly replace his present ministers by laymen; and that officers belonging to the armies of the sovereigns his allies would shortly come for the purpose of organising the Papal army. Corsini forthwith returned to the Piazza del Popolo, where the assembled crowd was, and reported to them these words of the Holy Father, which availed to induce them to disband themselves peaceably. But at the same time the police endeavoured to arrest Felice Orsini, Nicola Fabrizzi, and some other revolutionary leaders then in Rome, who, however, were able to save themselves by flight.

The next day, the 9th February, the Ministry met, and issued a proclamation in which they told the people that it was not true that the Ministers had rejected the counsel given by the Consulta in favour of arming; that large quantities of firearms had been ordered from France; but, at the same time, reminding the people that it was forbidden to them to meet and call themselves "Civic Guards," and assume arms without being duly summoned by their officers.

On the following day Pius published a long address to the the people, in which, after endeavouring at length to persuade them that no cause existed for alarm or for taking up arms, there occurs this remarkable passage: "But we above all

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others, we the Head and Supreme Pontiff of the most Holy Catholic religion—shall not we, if we should be unjustly attacked, have innumerable sons to defend us, who would support the centre of the Catholic Unity as they would the house of a father? This above all, the infinite gift with which Heaven has endowed Italy is an immense privilege; that our subjects, barely three millions in number, have two hundred millions of brothers of all languages and of all nations! This was the safety of Rome in times very different from the present, when all the Roman world was in confusion. By virtue of this the ruin of Italy was never completed. This will be always her safety as long as this Apostolic See shall remain in the midst of her!"

The notions here expressed were anything but pleasing to the progressists. Nevertheless, true to their usual tactics, they assembled in great numbers on the 11th, and went to the Quirinal "to thank the Pontiff" for his gracious speech—and to present fresh demands. And it was upon this occasion that Pius seems for the first time to have been smitten by a sensation of personal alarm, and of misgiving as to the possible consequences of these tumultuous assemblages of the populace, for the purpose of expressing their affection for his person. On learning the intentions of the popular leaders, he called to him the superior officers of the Civic Guard and a number of the "Carbinieri," and addressing them not without agitation, said that, under the present circumstances, he confided his person and the persons of the Cardinals and other citizens to them. He told them, with a somewhat awkward want of tact, that he trusted them all the more seeing that it was their interest to prevent anarchy; and concluded by saying: "I hope that the tranquillity of the city will not be disturbed; for it is known that the bulk of the people is faithful, while the agitators are few. But should it be otherwise, I shall be compelled to go elsewhere to await more tranquil days. I know that fault has been found with me for not having satisfied all the demands that have been made to me. But I will nominate a commission to examine what has been done, and to see whether it will be in my power to make any further concessions. But if petitions are put forward contrary to the Church and to my sacred duties, I am resolved to shed the last drop of my blood at the feet of the Crucifix rather than accede to them."

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The crowd came, as was expected, in very great numbers, with the usual cries of "Evviva!" for Pius the Ninth; but mingled with these were other cries, which had on every recent occasion been heard, and ever marked by a gradually increasing audacity in the purport of them. On this occasion, cries of "Italy, freed from the Austrians!" "A Constitution!" "Down with the Priests!" were distinguishable among the vociferations of the multitude.

Pius the Ninth came out to the balcony as usual, but accompanied by the officers he had called around them. He distinguished the seditious cries among the "evvivas" addressed to him, and thought it well to say a few words to them before imparting the accustomed blessing. "Be faithful," he said, "to the Pontiff! Do not ask what is contrary to the Church and to Religion? Certain voices, certain cries reach my ears, proceeding not from the many but from the few, which I neither will nor can admit. I pray God therefore to bless you under the express condition that you are faithful to the Church and to the Pontiff. Thus much premised I bless you with all my heart. Remember to be faithful to God and to the Holy See."

These words were received with an immense burst of cheering, and the crowd dispersed peaceably. But surely, Pius must by this time have learned the worth of such cheering!

But it might have been answered to the observations of the Pontiff, that it was becoming somewhat difficult to know in what fidelity to the Holy Father and the Holy See consisted. And from this time forward every day that passed made this question a more doubtful one. What the Pope's subjects—including by no means only the turbulent men, who made a lazy business of going to exercise their lungs in front of the Quirinal Palace, but a very large portion of the aristocrcy of the country, wanted was to become the allies of Piedmont, and to join in a whole-hearted and earnest struggle against Austria for the liberation of Italy from the yoke of the foreigner. Was this fidelity to the Supreme Pontiff? There were of course many other matters in the background—matters of internal government—on which it was very certain that the Pope and his subjects would not be able to come to a friendly understanding. This was so certain, that it seems now perfectly inconceivable

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that either party should have been able to flatter themselves that any other issue was possible. But these matters were for the nonce thrown into the background by the absorbing desire of the people to free Italy from the grasp of the foreigner. And the question, what *was* fidelity to the Pontiff, as regards this the burning question of the hour, became a really very difficult one to decide. What were the wishes of the Pontiff on the subject?

Now there can be little doubt what the visions and dreams of Giovanni Mastai were when he ascended the papal throne. He had been indoctrinated by the theories of Gioberti—splendid, magnificent, most eloquently—one may say almost gorgeously—displayed phantasmagoria, throwing on the white sheet of the imagination, unstained by ugly facts, grand processions of figures, representing Italy marching at the head of humanity to ulterior heights of civilisation and improvement, herself captained by that transcendently noble ideal hero, a truly Christian Pope, the lineal representative and heir to all the glories of the Papacy, while purged by contact with modern thought of all the stains contracted by it in its passage across the eighteen centuries of the world's troubled teething time! This was Giobertinism—visions, though noble, baseless as a sick man's dream. And this was the Pope, Giovanni Mastai conceived himself called to become, when his ears first drank in the incense so delicious to them, which his people, and indeed the world, offered to him.

The nature of the man was an unfortunate one for the part he was called upon to play. He was unfortunately fitted to conceive the part sketched out for him by the author of the "Primato," but unfortunately most unfitted for the playing of it. He was a Hamlet, who might have exclaimed with the over-weighted prince:

> "The world is out of joint! Oh cursed spite
> That I was ever born to set it right."

if he had ever possessed as much self-knowledge as Hamlet.

He had an old brother—long since dead—a plain-spoken old soldier, who had served under Napoleon, who judged his brother and his capabilities more justly—remarking to a friend of the present writer, who went to Florence to congratulate

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him on his brother's election, that it—the election—was the most unhappy thing that could have happened to his brother.

What Giovanni Mastai hoped, wished, dreamed when he became Pope is clear enough. But "what he would highly, that he would holily." And when the ugly realities of an internecine struggle, and that a struggle with a power which the more recent traditions of the Papacy had taught him to look upon as the fated and natural protector of the Holy See, began to loom clearly between him and those Giobertian visions he recoiled from the prospect before him. And yet this recoil was not clear, decided, frank, sincere, and open. He would have incurred a less amount of odium and unpopularity if he had, at the period of his story, which we have now reached, called Lambruschini to his counsels, declared that he now perceived the hopes of ruling by the means he had proposed to himself to have been fallacious, and requested Austria to send a body of troops for his support and protection; or at least, if that should seem to be saying too much, he would have given less reason to reasonable men and to history to blame him, had he so acted. But like all weak and overtaxed men he vacillated; and did so to a degree and under circumstances which justify the accusation brought against him of insincerity, and of disregard for the interests and safety of the men whom he had at least allowed to march against Austria with the presumption that they were acting with his approbation and under his authority.

Meantime festivals and tumults, "evvivas," thanksgiving, and new demands, enthusiasm and sedition, followed each other turn and turn about, matters getting gradually worse and worse each day, the "enthusiasm" becoming less in proportion than the sedition, and the coming catastrophe more and more unmistakeable and evident to all eyes save those of the Pontiff, to whom it was still impossible to believe that all the protestations of affection for his person and admiration for his character, on which he had been fed ever since his elevation, were empty words, wholly without real value of any kind.

Those who, next to himself, were most exposed to the violence of the rising storm began to desert their places and fly from it. In the middle of February, 1848, Cardinal Riario Sforza, the Minister of Fine Arts, Commerce, and Agriculture;

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Monsignore Amici, Minister for Home Affairs; Monsignore Savelli, Minister of Police; and Monsignore Rusconi, Minister of Public Works, resigned. The Pope nominated some members of the lay aristocracy of Rome to succeed them. But on the 10th of March Cardinal Bofondi, the Prime Minister, and the persons appointed in February all resigned together; and the Pope nominated Cardinal Antonelli as Prime Minister, and several laymen, among whom we find the name of Marcio Minghetti! "Powers eternal! Such names joined!" as Byron says. It is a singular instance of the strange manner in which the public men of the generation now passing from the scene have been pushed about and shuffled like a pack of cards into all sorts of the oddest combinations.

Pius kept his word to his subjects in naming without loss of time the commission he had promised for the examination of the compatibilities and incompatibilities of the necessities of the ecclesiastical power with those of constitutional government. The members of this Commission were the Cardinals Ostini, Castracane, Orioli, Altieri, Antonelli and Bofondi, and the Prelates Carboli Bussi, Alessandro Bernabò and Teodoro Mertel—*all* ecclesiastics it will be observed. While they were deliberating, the Pope, in reply to fresh petitions from the Council and Senate, urging the publication of a "Statuto"—a constitution such as the other Italian sovereigns had more or less willingly and sincerely given to their subjects—said that, "Everybody knew that he was unweariedly labouring at the task of giving to his Government a form consentaneous with the exigencies of the day; that the difficulties which lay in the way of one uniting in himself two great dignitaries, in tracing the precise line which ought to divide the one power from the other, must be evident to every one; and that that which in a secular government might be done in a single night, could in the case of the Pontifical Government only be accomplished after mature examination. Nevertheless," he concluded, "I flatter myself that in a few days I shall be in a position to announce that the task has been completed, a result which I trust will be to the contentment of all sensible persons, and therefore of yourselves and of the community. May God bless these desires and my labours!"

Strange words indeed these last, as compared with the doc-

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trines of the famous "Syllabus," yet in the womb of the future!

But while the more moderate Liberals were thus asking for a constitution, a more advanced section actually proposed to the Pontiff to proclaim a republic, as the only means of safety for himself and the ecclesiastical power. There are probably many of the churchmen in high places at Rome who would now be disposed to think that the Pontiff might have done worse in the interest of the Church than to close with this proposal. It seems not to have been generally known, however, that any such proposal was made, till the Pope, subsequently speaking in Consistory on the 20th April, 1849, alluded to the fact, saying that he "well remembered that night, and had still present to his eyes the misguided men who, miserably deluded and fascinated by the contrivers of fraud, did not hesitate to propose to him to proclaim the Republic!"

The Commission could not be accused of unduly prolonging its deliberations. On the 8th of March, it produced a fundamental statute, which Pius the Ninth proclaimed on 14th of that month. It provides for a couple of legislative chambers, one to be nominated by the sovereign, and one elective, consisting of one deputy for every thirty thousand souls, electors to be possessors of property to the amount of three hundred crowns, or payers of twelve crowns of direct taxes. A sum of six hundred thousand crowns is to be set apart for ecclesiastical persons and purposes, respecting which no account is to be given and no questions asked by the deputies. Certain ecclesiastical dues, amounting to thirteen thousand crowns, together with some other specified sources of income, are to remain at the disposition of the Pontiff. All which might have been—for a time at least—tolerated. But the Chambers were to have no power to propose any law having reference to ecclesiastical *or mixed* affairs, or anything in contradiction with the canons or with Church discipline, "the Pontiff intending to maintain entire his authority in the matters which are naturally conjoined with religion and Catholic morality."

Are we to suppose that the Pontiff and the Commission of dignified ecclesiastics who drew up this "statute," were not aware that ecclesiastical government had been found for centuries past intolerable in every part of the world in consequence

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of the difficulty of coming to an understanding with churchmen as to what matters "bore reference to ecclesiastical *or mixed* affairs," and are "naturally conjoined with religion and Catholic morality?" Had they never heard that the world considers its experience to have finally proved that, when the drawing of the line between such matters and others is left to ecclesiastics, the matters not included in those elastic categories are found to be—*nil?*

Perhaps it may be surmised that they never had heard anything of all this. At all events it must be imagined that the laity, to whom this constitution was granted, had no inkling of anything of the sort. For on the publication of the "Statuto" on the 15th of March the rejoicings, the applause, the shoutings, the thanking, the benedictions were renewed as frantically as in the first days of the new reign.

Saturnian reign clearly come back again after all!

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE "STATUTO" APPLAUDED.—THE WAR THE REAL QUESTION.—EXTENSION OF THE AMNESTY.—JEWS' QUARTER THROWN OPEN.—JESUITS SENT FROM ROME.—ADDRESS OF THE HOLY FATHER.—TUMULT IN THE STREETS.—AUSTRIAN ARMS TORN DOWN FROM THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.—ADDRESS TO THE HOLY FATHER.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE POPE'S POSITION.—TROOPS SENT TO THE FRONTIER.—DURANDO APPOINTED GENERAL.—DURANDO AT BOLOGNA.—HIS ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS.—POPE'S DISAVOWAL OF DURANDO'S WORDS.—HIS EQUIVOCAL ORDERS TO DURANDO.—THE PASSING OF THE PO.—MINISTERS DEMAND FROM THE POPE CATEGORICAL INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE WAR.—POPE'S REPLY.—PONTIFF'S SPEECH IN CONSISTORY ON THE 29TH OF APRIL.—DISASTROUS RESULTS OF THIS SPEECH.—DEPUTATION FROM THE "CIRCOLO" TO THE QUIRINAL,—CIVIC GUARDS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE GATES OF THE CITY.—DEMANDS MADE TO THE POPE BY THE MEMBERS OF THE "CIRCOLO."—MAMIANI AT THE QUIRINAL.—POPE'S REPLY TO THE DEMANDS.—DISCONTENT OF THE CITY.—THE "CIRCOLO" ALARMED.—CARDINALS TAKE REFUGE IN THE QUIRINAL.—NIGHT OF THE 30TH OF APRIL IN THE QUIRINAL.

PIUS THE NINTH cannot be accused of having been quick to abandon his high Giobertinian hopes, or to have lost—some will say his nobly philanthropic affection for his people—others will say his over-weening craving for vulgar admiration and applause. On the contrary, his hope, his faith, or his vanity led him to persevere, after all those around him, save such as limited their thoughts and efforts to making the best of the present moment, or such as were consciously bent on leading him on step by step to his own destruction, had given up the game. The publication of the "Statuto" had been hailed with enthusiasm and applause; and that doubtless gave him fresh encouragement. He probably was and is wholly incapable of understanding how and why such a constitution was unworkable, impossible, and certain to lead to further trouble and come to a bad ending. His applauding subjects were too ignorant or too insincere, and especially too busy with other thoughts

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and wishes, to pay much attention to the real tendencies of the provisions of it. A "constitution" was understood to be the liberal nostrum. The neighbouring liberalising populations were getting "constitutions," and that was enough for the moment.

The real question of the day was the war. Could or could not the Pope be driven to use his sovereign authority, as the master of an army, for the accomplishment of those results, which he, though letting "I dare not wait upon I would," doubtless really desired, and which his subjects were bent on achieving at all hazards? That was the burning question.

In the meantime the Pontiff continued his endeavours to please and pacify his subjects by conceding all such popular demands as seemed to him not utterly incompatible with what he had been taught to consider the inalienable rights of the Papacy; and his subjects continued to alternate "thankings" and ovations with turbulent gatherings and seditious manifestations and demands. On the 29th of March, twenty-four of those who had been excluded from the general amnesty were pardoned. In the night preceding the 18th of April—that year the Jewish Passover—Pius caused the walls which had till that time enclosed the Jewish quarter of the city, and the gates in which were always closed at night, to be thrown down.

A far more important and noteworthy concession dates from the same time. Throughout Italy the popular feeling had been very strongly roused against the Jesuits. They had been driven from almost all the cities of northern Italy. And the popular hostility to the Company showed itself in all parts of the papal territory by continued acts of insult and violence. On the 28th of March, Pius expressed to the Fathers his great grief at the ill-treatment inflicted on them, but at the same time counselled their departure, as a means of preventing disturbances and probable bloodshed. But the tendency of this measure was turned from good to evil by the circumstance that the Pope had on the 14th of March published a proclamation in which he said: "Romans, and all ye, subjects and sons of the Holy See, hear yet once again the voice of a father, who loves you! . . . We invite and inculcate on all of you to respect the Seat of the Holy Church. Do not be guilty of a scandal which would astonish the entire world, and afflict the greater

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number of our subjects. Spare the Pontiff, already sorely grieved by similar facts which have elsewhere occurred, this last drop of bitterness! But if unhappily these words of mine should not avail to restrain misguided men, it is my intention to appeal to the fidelity of the Civic Guard, and of all the forces destined to the preservation of order." The words thus uttered produced no effect whatever. The Holy Father did not appeal to the fidelity of the Civic Guard, which, as he probably well knew, would not have responded to any such appeal, but on the contrary, gave way to the popular desire; facts, the moral and teaching of which were unquestionably better laid to heart than the Holy Father's pathetic exhortations!

The increasing impotence of the Government was demonstrated by other facts which happened from day to day. Tumultuous crowds assembled on the 11th of April, with cries of "Work and bread!" The sincerity of their cry and of their need was apparent from the fact that the crowd consisted mainly of men employed by the Government as scavengers, and excavators of antiquities. They were about two thousand three hundred in number, and their wages were about four thousand pauls a day. Money was given to them to quiet them; then forty-two were arrested, and then discharged. It had been worse on the Piazzi di Venezia, on the 11th of March. On the receipt of the news of a revolution having broken out at Vienna, a tumultuous crowd, paid it was thought in great part by the Napoleonic Prince of Canino, went there, to the residence of the Austrian Ambassador, pulled down the Austrian arms, burned them in the street, and then went to the Church of Ara Cœli to give thanks for the Austrian revolution. The Civic Guard stood by while this was done, and did not interfere!

The very same evening the "Circolo Romano" held a meeting at which it was determined to "assist the Ministry" in sending troops to the frontier, and to demand "improvements" in the constitution; and on the 24th an address to the Pontiff was presented in which the Pope was told that "the benediction of God, invoked by your Holiness, has descended on Italy. God has heard the magnanimous voice which from the heights of the Sacred Vatican implored the triumph of the oppressed, the redemption of a nation! This day Italy is free,

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mistress of her own destinies, and independent. She is a nation. With hearts filled with ineffable joy, all the citizens of Italy turn themselves with confidence and hope to the generous Pontiff who initiated Italian regeneration, and supplicate him to complete his holy work! And to that end" . . . . . the undersigned desire that a Diet of all the Italian provinces should be called by the Pope to Rome. Because "to your Holiness it belongs to add new splendour to the Papacy and to Religion, by rising to the supreme dignity of Moderator of all the Italian peoples, and by giving back to Rome its moral and civil primacy, not only in Italy, but in Europe and the whole world! All Italians are anxiously expecting the sound of the omnipotent voice, of the religious and civilising utterances of your Holiness. They desire to consecrate the triumph of their cause to you, to the standard of Religion, of Liberty, and of Fraternity in the Cross upon the eternal altar of their nation, on the Capitol!"

"Brave words!" though somewhat short in the article of meaning! But how well those who put them together knew the nature of the man they had to deal with, and the means by which it was most likely that he might be influenced! But this Diet of the peoples of Italy! and this sending out of soldiers with real guns, to shoot people and get shot! If only the omnipotent voice on the sacred heights of the Vatican, and the rising to be moderator of all the peoples, and the moral and civil primacy, and the liberty, religion, and fraternity around the Cross on the eternal altar of the Capitol, could all be managed comfortably among themselves at Rome! But that meddling with other sovereigns was so awkward. Pius felt that that would never do! But he went as far as he could in the desired direction by pushing the proposals he had initiated the year before, for a confederation. But, "as the common Father of all the Faithful," the Pope did not wish to wage war against anybody. He desired only a defensive league. And in the course of that April he sent Monsignore Corboli-Bussi to King Carlo Alberto, to come to an understanding on that footing. But the King, who was already in the field, and who probably deemed the visit of a Prelate at that time and place inopportune, told Monsignore "that the present was not a time for treating or forming leagues, but for fighting; and that when

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the foreigner should have been driven out, he would talk to him."

Nevertheless, towards the end of March, when the news of the assembling of volunteers in all parts of Italy for assisting in the work of driving Austria out of Italy, was coming day after day to Rome, the popular desire to join in the work became uncontrollable; and Prince Aldobrandini, the Pope's Minister of War, announced to the crowds who surrounded the War Ministry, demanding to be armed and sent to the frontier, that "the Minister, considering the imperious circumstances of Italy, and the universal desire of the cities, orders as follows: An enrolment is opened in the office of the Ministry of War. Colonel Farini is named to preside over the organisation of this body, which will march under his orders. General Durando is appointed to the command-in-chief of the army of operation."

Now with a papal War Minister making such an announcement, and a Pope who says he won't fight because he is the common Father of the Faithful, it will be admitted, as I said in a former chapter, that it had become difficult to know what exactly *was* fidelity to the sovereign! The difficulty increased as the days went on.

General Durando, at the end of March, went to Bologna, and collected there a force of seven thousand men. Ferrari, made a General, had the command of the Civic Guard, and the volunteers, numbering ten thousand. They were all, says a contemporary chronicler, burning with patriotism and zeal, but many were destitute of military instruction, and some of clothing. But, as Pius persisted in maintaining that he was not at war with anybody, he commanded that no other orders should be given to the troops, save to defend the integrity and security of the pontifical territory. And Antonelli wrote, on the 27th of March, to Cardinal Durat, the Legate of Bologna, that the King of Sardinia wished the pontifical troops to remain at the frontier. On the very next day, however, Prince Aldobrandini wrote to Durando ordering him to place himself immediately in correspondence with the head-quarters of the King, and to operate in accord with him! On the 5th of April, Durando published an address to his troops. He told them, at greater length than can here be given, that "the Pope, holy, just and merciful above all other men, yet knew that the *ultima ratio* of

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arms was the only just, the only possible course to take against those who trample under foot every right and every law, human and divine. . . . The Supreme Pontiff has blessed your swords, which, united to those of Carlo Alberto, must march in concord with him to the extermination of the enemies of God and of Italy."

But on the 10th of the same month, as soon as ever the report of these words had reached him, Pius announced in the *Gazette* of Rome, that "An order of the day, issued to the soldiers at Bologna, on the 5th of April, expresses sentiments and ideas as if they were dictated by the mouth of the Holy Father. The Pope, when he wishes to make declarations of his sentiments, speaks for himself, *ex se*, and never by the mouth of any subaltern."

Certainly it was becoming increasingly difficult, especially for a poor volunteer on the Bologna frontier, to know what was fidelity to the Holy Father!

Durando meanwhile was continually receiving fresh recruits; and it was becoming more difficult from day to day to restrain them from crossing the Po, even without orders. In these circumstances, on the 14th of April, the General wrote to Rome asking for orders. Aldobrandini communicated Durando's letter to Antonelli on the 18th of that month; and the latter, after conference with the Pontiff, ordered him to reply, that "he must, in the grave circumstances in which he found himself, regulate himself in such sort as should be most conducive to the tranquillity and security of the State!" General Durando's position was, it must be admitted, a difficult one! He did, however, pass the Po on the 20th of April: and Ferrari, under his orders, did so in the first days of May.

The Ministry—laymen, it will be remembered, with the exception of the first Minister, Antonelli—were anxious that the Pope should openly declare his wishes as regarded the war, and presented a supplication that he would say whether he consented that his subjects should join in the war, or whether he absolutely forbade their doing so; or whether finally he chose to declare that, though he wished for peace, it was out of his power to prevent war? On the 20th of April, the Pope replied that "not having any motive for going to war with the Emperor of Austria, he considered that he was fulfilling the

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duty of Supreme Pontiff and Sovereign by opposing the unjust desires of those who wished to drive him to embark in it, and who demanded that he should send to battle—that is, to certain slaughter—a quantity of inexperienced youths, got together in a hurry, uninstructed in the art and discipline of war, and not supplied with able commanders and material of war." (Surely a severe and undeserved slap to General Durando !)

And on the 29th of the same month the Pope more solemnly, in a Consistory of the Cardinals, spoke a very long address, in the course of which he said, that "Since it is now the wish of some that we, together with the other peoples and princes of Italy, should go to war with Austria, we judge it to be proper to express, clearly and openly, in this our solemn assembly, that such a line of conduct is entirely opposed to our counsels, seeing that we" . . . . are, in a word, the common Father of all. "But here," the Pontiff proceeds to say, "we cannot refrain from repudiating, in the face of all men, the fraudulent counsels set forth also in journals and various writings, of those who wish that the Roman Pontiff should be the head, and should preside over the constitution of a sort of new Republic of all the peoples of Italy. On the contrary, on this occasion, we, moved by the love we bear them, in the strongest manner admonish and advise the populations of Italy to guard themselves most diligently from all such astute designs, pernicious as they are to Italy, and to remain firmly attached to their Princes, whose benevolence they have already experienced, and never to suffer themselves to be seduced from their allegiance to them."

The effect produced in Rome by these declarations was tremendous. At last the division of the ways had been arrived at too palpably for any longer illusion to be possible either to the Pontiff or his subjects. It had become evident to both parties that no longer accord was possible between them. The Ministry, which had four days previously expressed its opinion that in the circumstances of the country the war was necessary, resigned *en masse*. And it was at once perceived, with a thrill of alarm which ran like lightning through all classes of the city, that the result of the Pope's declaration would be that the papal troops, regulars and volunteers alike, would be treated by the Austrians as mere

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bandits; that all the rights and courtesies of civilized warfare would be refused to them, and that they would be shot down without mercy and without quarter! And bitter comparisons were made between the Pope's expressed unwillingness to send his subjects, as he had said, to the certain slaughter of the battle-field, and the act which consigned them to so much worse a fate. Of all that portion of the life and actions of Pius the Ninth which concerns the temporal part of his administration, and has reference to his character as a sovereign, this has always been felt to be the worst page, and to have left on his reputation the deepest stain. The fears of the Roman mothers, wives, and fathers were no vain terrors. Exactly that happened which they had foreseen. The papal troops were declared by the Austrian General mere brigands and outlaws, and were treated accordingly. And many a family hoarded a store of bitter hatred against the ruler whose weak vacillation and vanity had betrayed his subjects into such a position!

The result of the memorable speech in Consistory of the 29th April was to make it unmistakable that a catastrophe was approaching. The "Circolo Romano" was the main centre of the popular movement, and head-quarters of the malcontents—which term, indeed, now included all save the members of the priesthood. Prince Doria, Mamiani (now a senator of the Italian kingdom), and the advocate Sterbini went to the Quirinal, saw Antonelli, and spoke, the two former, we are told, with moderation, the last insolently and violently. Meantime men of the Civic Guard, without orders and obeying only the popular will, occupied the gates of the city, to prevent the possibility of the Pope and Cardinals leaving it. Others surrounded the houses of the Cardinals. In the evening a petition was prepared at the "Circolo," which declared that "from respect for the timorous conscience of the Holy Father, no further petitions should be made to him to ask him for a direct declaration of war from his own mouth; but that, 'in contracambio'—in exchange for this—it was desired that the Pontiff should appoint an entirely lay and approvedly Liberal Ministry, which should have the power of pushing on the war with ardour and activity and by every sort of means."

The Pope, aware of the intention to present this petition,

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and wishing to avoid receiving it, sent for Mamiani to the Quirinal, and asked him to take part in the Ministry. But he declined, advising rather that the present Ministers should retain their portfolios, and be instructed to follow the direction pointed out in the petition. Meantime, Sterbini and others of the more violent came to the Quirinal and spoke violently and threateningly. They were persuaded to depart with an assurance that the Holy Father, while attending to the formation of a new Ministry, had induced the actual Ministers to remain in office, who would—"con animo italiano"—with patriotic intentions (the use of the word *italiano* curiously indicates all that it was then held to signify, and explains the hatred which Austria and the Retrogradists felt to it), do what they in their consciences believed to be best under the circumstances.

These tidings were immediately carried back to the "Circolo," and were thence circulated in a few minutes through the city. They failed, as might have been expected, to satisfy the people. The "Circolo" itself, which, though it included among its members many of the more violent and exalted democrats and many who acted under the inspiration, if not under the directions, of the "Giovine Italia," comprised also such men as Doria, Mamiani, and others of the friends of order, though they were partisans of the war and of the entire secularisation of the Government, began to be itself alarmed at the rising violence of the people, and to fear insurrectionary outbreaks which threatened to produce a state of things beyond their power to master. A strong cry arose throughout the city demanding that Mamiani should be Minister. That same night the crowd stopped the mail that was leaving for the north, and forcibly took from the bags the letters of Antonelli, to see what orders he was sending to the generals in the field. A still more dangerous and excited crowd raised threatening cries against the Cardinals, especially against Lambruschini, Mattei, Patrizi, Della Genga, Bernetti and Gizzi—the whilom popularity of the last having altogether vanished! The Pope made hurried dispositions for receiving all these members of the Sacred College in the Quirinal. And all accepted the offer save Bernetti, who considered himself sufficiently secure in his own dwelling.

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That night of the 30th of April must have been a strange and memorable one in the Quirinal. It was the first moment when it became clear to the alarmed old men who gathered about their chief that this business of reform and popularity-hunting was likely to issue in present and imminent personal danger to all of them! It is not difficult to guess what thoughts must have been in the minds of such men as Lambruschini and those who thought with him during the agitated hours of that evening. They must have been bitter enough, and hardly conformable to the sentiments which the "Venerabili Fratelli" should feel for their divinely-guided Head! They are all gone who could have told us how that evening passed! All gone—the last of them but the other day—each with his finger on his lips, and have kept the secrets of that prison-house! All, save that wonderful old man, whom no amount of emotion has been able to kill or wear out, of whom it is authentically told that he in the midst of his sacred brethren of the purple, was calm, placid, and unruffled!

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CHAPTER XV.

PAPAL ADDRESS OF THE 1ST OF MAY.—WELDEN'S PROCLAMATION TO THE POPULATION AT THE FRONTIERS.—TURBULENT MEETING OUTSIDE THE PORTA DEL POPOLO.—SEDITIOUS CRIES IN THE STREETS. MAMIANI'S NEW MINISTRY.—CORSINI'S ADDRESS TO THE POPE ON THE 3RD OF MAY.—THE POPE DISAVOWS THE DECLARATION OF THE MINISTERS.—POPE WRITES LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—SENDS A PRELATE TO MEDIATE BETWEEN KING OF SARDINIA AND EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—OPENING OF THE SESSION ON THE 5TH OF JUNE.—SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—DIVISION OF DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS NOT ALLOWED BY THE POPE.—REPLY TO THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—POPE'S RECEPTION OF IT.—RETURN OF TROOPS TO ROME.—POPE'S DISPLEASURE AT THEIR BEING QUARTERED IN THE JESUIT CONVENT.—POPE ATTEMPTS TO RECALL SWISS TROOPS TO ROME.—TO OBTAIN TROOPS FROM NAPLES.—UNSUCCESSFUL.—POSITION OF PIUS THE NINTH AT THIS TIME.—MUCH TO BE PITIED.—NATURE OF HIS DIFFICULTIES.—MAMIANI OFFERS RESIGNATION, BUT REMAINS IN OFFICE.—VICTORY OF THE AUSTRIANS AT CUSTOZA.—TUMULT IN THE STREETS.—POPE'S SUBSEQUENT REMARKS ON THIS CRISIS.—PROTEST AGAINST VIOLATION OF TERRITORY BY AUSTRIA.—PELLEGRINO ROSSI MINISTER.

THE next day, the 1st of May, while the entire fabric of society was reeling in the Eternal City, while many were fearing for their personal safety, and all were anxious and uncertain what the next hour might bring forth, Pius, "with the fraternal intention of recalling the disturbers of the public peace to calm and tranquillity, composed a long address in the pulpit style, in which he, with abundant verbosity, goes over the story of all he had done for his subjects, and of the tokens of their appreciation of it which they had given him. He bids them remember that he had consistently stated that he was unwilling to declare war; "but at the same time," he says, "we protested that we were unable to bridle the ardour of that portion of our subjects which was animated with the same spirit of nationality as the other Italians." He also declares that he had done his duty as a father and a sovereign by taking the best means in his power to procure the greatest possible degree of safety for those of his subjects who, against his will, were exposed to the

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vicissitudes of war. This, of course, was intended for a reply to the complaint that his refusal to declare war exposed those whom, if not he, at least his Minister of War had sent to the frontier to be treated as bandits not entitled to the mitigations of the evils of war accorded to the troops of a belligerent power. It would have been better if the historian were able to point out what were the means which the Holy Father took towards attaining the end in view. Unfortunately the proclamations of the Austrian General Welden, on the 3rd and 4th of August in this same year, prove but too conclusively that the Holy Father's attempts in the direction indicated were at least wholly abortive. "The Holy Father, your sovereign, inspired by the sacred nature of his office," said the Austrian General, "protested again and again that he would not make war. . . . My forces are directed against the bands that call themselves 'Crociati' (Durando's soldiers)—against those factions, persons who, contrary to the authority of their own Government, strive to deceive worthy people with lies and sophisms. . . . I will infallibly cause to be shot all who shall be taken with arms in their hands, or shall in any other way show hostility to us."

The Pope's address failed altogether to produce the effect he hoped from it. Meetings, each more violent than the last, marked each day, and almost each hour of every day. One, which became especially famous, was held in the first days of May in a vineyard outside the Porta del Popolo. Mamiani, Sterbini, and many others whose names were well known in the political struggles of that day, as well as Ciceruacchio, and, led by the latter, a vast crowd of the most violent and lawless men in the city were present. One Guerrini declaimed violently against Pius the Ninth, maintaining that he was a traitor to his country and must be deposed. To that end he exhorted the multitude to swear that they would obey implicitly the orders of Ciceruacchio. Upon which the latter drew a dagger, and the crowd doing the same, for all were armed, swore the required oath.

In the streets the cries were, "Down with the Cardinal Ministers!" "We want a Ministry all laymen!" "Hurrah for Mamiani as Minister!" Two days later, on the 4th of May, it was announced that the Holy Father, on the proposi-

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tion of the Conte Terenzio Mamiani, had named a new Ministry: Cardinal Ciacchi, President of the Council (the Pontiff could not make up his mind, great as was the pressing danger, to trust himself wholly to laymen); the Conte Giovanni Marchetti, Minister for (*secular*) Foreign Affairs; Mamiani, Minister for Home Affairs; Pasquale de' Rossi (not to be confounded with Pellegrino Rossi, shortly to become Minister), Minister of Justice; Giuseppe Lunati, Minister of Finance; Prince Filippo Doria Pamfili, War Minister; the Duca di Rignano, Minister of Commerce; and the Avvocato Galletti, Minister of Police. Cardinal Ciacchi prudently declined to accept office, and Cardinal Soglia patriotically consented to fill the position in his stead.

For a time—a short time—this Ministry succeeded in restoring tranquillity. The Civic Guards, who had stationed themselves at the gates of the city, at Castel St. Angelo, and around the residence of the Cardinals, were withdrawn; and the Commander of the Civic Guards, changed from Prince Rospigliosi to Prince Aldobrandini, made a public declaration, that the notion had become current that the Holy Father had withdrawn his confidence from the Civic Guard was unfounded.

On the 3rd of May, the Senator Prince Corsini was persuaded to call an extraordinary meeting of the Senate and the Deputies for the adopting of an address to the Holy Father. A long one was drawn up by the Avvocato Sturbenetti, the gist of which went to show the necessity and lawfulness, even from the Pope's point of view, of the war (inasmuch as it had now become a war for the defence of the integrity of the frontiers of the State); and to urge the convocation of an Italian Diet. The Pope received it, and avoided giving any answer by saying that the new Ministry were on the point of entering on their functions. The Ministry began by issuing an address, in which it was attempted to pacify the people by a quantity of empty phrases about Rome being in the van of civilisation, but also contained a word or two to the effect that they—the Ministers, had especially at heart *the triumph of the holy Italian cause.* The Pope on the very next day caused the official *Gazette* to declare, that the title of "programme" affixed by the error of a clerk in the Home Office to a mere manifestation of the ideas of the Minister on certain points, was not to be received as such, and

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that the Minister could not have intended any such solemn significance to be attached to so short and little detailed a document.

On that same 3rd day of May, the Pope wrote an autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, begging him, in a word, to withdraw his troops, and suggesting that each nation "should betake itself to dwell within its own natural limits, with an honourable understanding and with the benediction of the Most High!" A few days later, the text of this letter became known in Rome; whereupon the Ministers published an address to the Pontiff, the gist of which was to the effect that the Italians would be perfectly content to share the kindly feelings which he had expressed towards the German nation, on condition that as a first condition of peace, "the Italian nation should be restored to its *natural confines.*" . . . "Let the Germans repass the Alps and we shall then not forget that Christian charity which your Holiness inculcates on us."

Still continuing his Apostolic endeavours, Pius sent on the 27th of May Monsignore Morichini, with the title of Apostolic Delegate Extraordinary to the King of Sardinia and to the Emperor of Austria. He was received by the former with at least all honour and respect. But at Innspruck, where the Austrian Emperor then was, he was somewhat roughly told to go to . . . Vienna, if he wanted to speak to the Ministers.

The 5th of June was fixed for the opening of the session of the new Parliament. Mamiani drew up a short "speech from the throne," which said as little as such speeches usually do. But he said, "God has constituted nations in this world by difference of climate, of language, of race, and of customs, in order that each may live its own proper and honoured life. And God has given to Italy all these ineffaceable marks and signs." These phrases appeared objectionable to the Pope. That they should have done so is a suggestive symptom of the condition of men's minds at that time, and of the survival of the notion that danger lurked in the bare idea of Italian nationality. Mamiani consented to modify the speech, but failed to render it acceptable to the Pontiff. The Pope then drew up a speech himself, which the Ministers alleging their constitutional responsibility, refused to countersign. It was then proposed that the Pontiff should open the session in person with a few insig-

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nificant words. But neither to this would the Holy Father consent. And the speech, as drawn up by the Pope, was read by Cardinal Altieri without any ministerial approbation. There was no word in it that could by any possibility have been found objectionable by the Ministers; and it must be supposed that the fault they found with it was, that it contained no word having reference to the war, or the national aspirations of Italy.

A communication from the Ministers to the Deputies, drawn up by Mamiani, and read on the 9th of June, spoke a very different language. It promised that all the efforts of the Ministry should be devoted to the promotion of the national cause, and the recovery of every palm of Italian land from the foreigner.

For the carrying out of the government according to his plans, Mamiani had considered the division of the department of Foreign Affairs into two branches—the one for the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and the other for secular affairs—as indispensable. But the Pope absolutely refused to admit or tolerate any such division. The consequence of this was that Mamiani and the other Ministers on the 18th of June gave in their resignation. The Pontiff, however, requested them to continue to hold office, temporarily, and this they consented to do.

An address was presented in reply to the speech from the throne, read by Cardinal Altieri; and on receiving this, on the 10th of July, Pius said that he did so "solely in such part and so far as it did not diverge from the prescription of the Statute. If," he went on to say, "high desires for the greatness of the Italian nation become more numerous, it is necessary that the entire world should be anew informed that the means of obtaining that end cannot, so far as we are concerned, be war." On the 12th, Mamiani said, in consequence of these words, that he had given his resignation into the hands of his Holiness, who had, however, not as yet accepted or rejected it. The same evening tumultous crowds thronged round the house of the Minister in the Piazza di Spagna, encouraging him to persevere. He did so, proposing a variety of new laws, among which were schemes for increasing the army on a large scale, which were, as was only too well known, in entire opposition to the wishes of the Sovereign.

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On the 25th of July one of the Roman regiments which had been sent to the frontier returned from Vicenza, where it had capitulated to Radetzky, was received with festive honours by the Senate and the people, and, for want of other quarters, was placed in the building from which the Jesuits had been sent away. This very seriously displeased the Pontiff, who declared publicly in the *Gazette* that this was done on the sole authority of the Minister, thus widening the division, already so dangerously great, between him and those who were supposed to be governing in his name.

That the Pope's own sense of the danger of the situation was becoming more urgent was shown about this time by the desire he expressed that a couple of regiments of Swiss, which had been sent into the Legations, should be brought back to Rome for the reinforcement of its garrison. But the Ministers opposed the plan, and the Pontiff found himself unable to obtain his desire. He then sent Cardinal Ferretti to Naples to ask for the assistance of a body of Neapolitan troops; but the precarious state of things there made it impossible for the Neapolitan Government to help him.

It is impossible not to feel a considerable degree of pity for Pius the Ninth at this period of his strangely eventful life. It is unquestionable that he did come to his high office with large, lofty, and noble aspirations; with aspirations and purposes far larger and nobler than those which any Pontiff of his predecessors had brought with him to St. Peter's throne for many and many a generation. That an inordinate vanity had a large share in the promptings of the heart which pushed him to such aspirations is true; but it may be urged that a craving for the applause of one's fellow-creatures, if often allied with exceeding weakness, is rarely if ever conjoined with baseness, but frequently is found in companionship with virtues of the heroic class. Nor can it be attributed to any shortcoming of his, save in some degree to intellectual shortcoming, that the bright morning of his day was clouded over so quickly; that the paradise which he and his subjects fancied they were entering together when he commenced his rule over them turned out to be a fool's paradise so soon. The amount, the bitterness of his disappointment must have been immense. Had he been a man of deep feeling and much sensitiveness, it must have killed him;

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but there is reason to think that he is very remarkably the reverse of this—that reverses, disappointments, cares that would grave deep and lasting furrows in most hearts, pass lightly over his buoyant idiosyncrasy. Nevertheless, those months of 1848 must have gone hardly with him. He stuck bravely to his hope after everybody else could see that there was no hope. He did strive his best to satisfy his people and secure their welfare. That he could not go with them, as they would have had him, was no fault of his; duty—a duty which he honestly and genuinely believed to be far higher, and laid on him with a specialty of obligation, with the sacredness of which none other could compare—stood in the way! He *could* not act as his people would have had him. And it must be remembered that he was most unquestionably not wrong in his estimate of the direction in which the path he was wished to follow would lead him. It may or may not be a good and desirable thing that the entire fabric of the Roman Church should be brought to the ground and carted away as rubbish; but the sacerdotal instinct in Pius warned him aright that this and no other was the catastrophe towards which they were driving him. He could not yield to the goads that were urging him thitherwards, and in truth there was something piteous in the sight of his attempts to bolt, now at this door of escape, and now at that—any path, any concession save the fatal path, which led only to the precipice. It does seem unquestionably true that up to the period at which we have arrived, Pius the Ninth was desirous not only of giving his subjects the benefit of very substantial improvements in every branch of the administration, but also a degree of political liberty which no one of his predecessors had granted or would have dreamed of granting. He was further willing and desirous to arrive at such an amount of separation between temporal and ecclesiastical affairs, and such a degree of admission of the lay element to its share of governmental action, as could be accomplished without danger to what he considered the interests and requirements of his spiritual office. He is no doubt at the present hour perfectly convinced that he was then pursuing an erroneous path, and attempting what was impossible; and few will doubt now that the Pontiff is right in his present judgment, and was wrong in his previous estimate of the possibilities of his position. The "*Sint ut sunt aut non*

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sint" is recognised to be inevitable, and the dissidence between the Roman Pontiff and the world will henceforward consist, not in any dispute on the accurate truthfulness of that position, but, admitting the cogency of the alternative, in the choice of the issue to be preferred.

But though the inherent inevitability of this upshot would have in due course ensured the failure of all the Pontiff's earnest and sincere tentatives at improvement, Liberalism, and roseate Giobertinian dreams of Neo-Catholicism, the catastrophe of the Pope's liberalising career was brought about by a more immediate and quickly operative cause—his determination not to embark in the war for the liberation of Italy. On this point he was thoroughly determined to take one line, and his subjects, one may say well-nigh the entirety of them, were as thoroughly determined to take the opposite one. And the objects which the Romans had in view were generous, noble, and, taking a sufficiently wide outlook, far-seeing ones. But considering the immediate duties of a sovereign, considering the then position of Austria, considering the prospect, as it then lay before the Italians, of the papal dominions by the light of the event, can it be said that the Pontiff, as a temporal sovereign, was so far wrong?

It is true that the probability of miserable failure, as the issue of those 1848 attempts, was probably not the sole cause of the unwillingness of the Pontiff to embark in them. It is true that the picture of a united and confederated Italy might present itself to the fancy under two very different aspects. The Giobertinian galanty show-picture of Italy, mother of arts and culture, the humanitarian primate of the world, with Rome, the Eternal City, primate of Italy, and the Pope the primate of Rome, was one thing; but a picture of Italy composed of a confederation of States possessing a greater or lesser degree of autonomy, as it might turn out, under the leadership of the Sardinian King, with a Pope turned certainly into a vassal sovereign, and probably into a vassal bishop, was quite another thing. And it is also true that, as the struggle between the Pontiff and his people proceeded during the spring and summer months of 1848, the latter view was continually becoming more concrete and distinct, and the former more shadowy and impalpable. And it can hardly be doubted that considerations

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of this sort, acting more or less consciously, as human hopes and fears will, contributed to render Pius the Ninth's first "non possumus" irrevocable.

The storm grew more and more violent and menacing around the Pontiff but nothing could move him to throw in his lot with those who were striving to free Italy from the foreigner and make her a nation.

The determination of Mamiani and his colleagues to resign their functions has been mentioned. Their resignation had not been accepted; but the Pope seems to have already conceived the idea of confiding the Ministry to Pellegrino Rossi. Rossi, when his embassy from France to the Pontiff came to an end, had remained as a private resident in Rome, and had, on the 23rd of July, become a naturalised papal subject. The change in question, however, did not then take place. Prince Doria Pamfili resigned the War Office, the Conte Pompeo Campello was appointed in his place; and on the 29th of July Mamiani told the Chambers that the Ministerial crisis was at an end, and that the Ministry, "renovated in part, would continue to carry into effect that national and truly Italian policy which some among you had the kindness to say was incarnated in the present Cabinet." In short, they were determined to carry on the Government in a sense diametrically opposed to that of the Sovereign, in whose name they were supposed to be exercising power!

On the 31st of July came the tidings of the victory of Austria at Custoza. The Ministry immediately proposed large schemes of armament, and modes for the raising of money. On the 1st of August these plans were submitted to the Pope, who replied that such large proposals needed mature consideration; that he wholly trusted to the Council and *the good sense of the people* for the consideration of what was best to be done. It is well-nigh impossible to suppose that the words italicised could have been spoken by the Pontiff in sincerity. The result of them, however, was to fill the streets with tumultuous crowds, crying, "Death to the Cardinals!" "Death to the Priests!" "Hurrah for a Constitutional Government!" These were the worst cries that had yet been heard in Rome! The popular weather-glass marked "storm" from day to day more menacingly.

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For the nonce, however, the Civic Guard did their duty, and dispersed the rioters. On the 2nd of August, Mamiani, having learned from the Pope his final refusal to adopt the schemes of armament proposed, insisted on carrying into effect his threatened resignation. This time it was accepted. And it is worth while to anticipate a little, for the purpose of giving in this place some words spoken by Pius on the 20th of April, 1849, which disclose his veritable feelings towards the Minister whom he was professing to trust at the period at which we have arrived. Addressing the Cardinals assembled in Consistory on that day, he said: "You remember the outcry and tumult excited by factious and turbulent men, after that allocution (of the 29th of April), and how a lay Ministry, altogether in contradiction with our maxims and intentions, and with the rights of the Apostolic See, was imposed upon us. We most assuredly, as far back as that time, foresaw the unsuccessful exit of the Italian war, whereas one of those Ministers did not hesitate to assert that the war would continue, even against our will and without the pontifical benediction. And the same Minister, further outraging in the highest degree the Apostolic See, was not ashamed to propose that the Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff should be altogether separated from the Spiritual Power thereof."

A new Ministry, still under the Presidency of Cardinal Soglia, was patched up, on the resignation of Mamiani; but, as might have been easily foreseen, it lasted but a very short time, and the names of the men who composed it are not of sufficient interest to justify the employment of the space it would need to record them.

Cardinal Soglia protested strongly, in the Pope's name, against the violation of the pontifical territory by the Austrian troops, calling on all Europe to defend the Holy See against invasion. And on the 8th of August, when the proclamation of General Welden, from which some passages have been given in a former chapter, reached Rome, Cardinal Soglia published a declaration that "His Holiness is firmly resolved to defend his State against the Austrian invasion by all the means that his dominions and the well-regulated enthusiasm of his subjects can supply. His Holiness gives the lie (*smentisce*), in the strongest manner, by my mouth, to the words of Marshal Wel-

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den, declaring that his conduct is considered by his Holiness as hostile to the Holy See and to the Holy Father, who neither can intend, nor intends, to separate the cause of his people from his own cause, and holds every injury inflicted on his people as offered to himself." A deputation was also sent to Welden, who received them with excuses based on military necessity, proposed that all prisoners should be given up on both sides, and that the Papal Government should undertake to prevent its subjects from violating Austrian territory.

On the 26th of August the Ministers made a statement to the Pontiff to the effect that a great number of new laws were needed for further reforms, that it had not been possible for them to have the projects of these laws ready for presentation to the Chamber, and that it was therefore necessary to prolong the session to the 15th of the following November. But the Pope was not contented with his Ministers, as has been seen but too clearly from his subsequent confessions in the spring of the following year; and he finally determined to confide to Pellegrino Rossi, as he had previously thought of doing, the formation of a new Ministry, which was announced to the public on the 16th of September: Cardinal Soglia, Secretary of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council; the Conte Pellegrino Rossi, Minister for the Home Department and Finance; Cardinal Vizzardelli, Public Instruction; and other less known names for the other offices.

The task which the Ministry thus constituted had before them, was, in truth, from the first, a hopeless one.

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CHAPTER XVI.

PELLEGRINO ROSSI—HIS OPINIONS.—HIS OBJECTIONS TO UNDERTAKING TO FORM A MINISTRY.—CAUSES OF HIS UNPOPULARITY.—THREATS AGAINST HIS LIFE.—HIS MINISTERIAL PROGRAMME.—DISLIKED BY THE LIBERAL PARTY.—CLUBS.—NEWSPAPERS.—STERBINI.—ROSSI'S REPLY TO THE CALUMNIES OF THE "CONTEMPORANEO."—PLOTS AGAINST THE LIFE OF ROSSI.—THE "LEGIONARIES."—WARNINGS GIVEN TO ROSSI.—APPEARANCE OF THE CITY ON THE MORNING OF THE 15TH OF NOVEMBER, 1848.—UNTRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE TROOPS.—PREPARATIONS AT THE CHAMBER FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF THE MINISTER.—ROSSI AT THE QUIRINAL.—LAST WARNING FROM THE POLICE.—THE MURDER IN THE HALL OF THE PARLIAMENT CHAMBER.—DISGRACEFUL APATHY OF ROME.—FRATERNIZATION BETWEEN THE ASSASSINS AND THE TROOPS.—RESIGNATION OF THE OTHER MINISTERS.—MINGHETTI AND PASOLINI REQUESTED TO FORM A MINISTRY.

PERREGRINO ROSSI was a native of Carrara, who had been sent by Guizot's Government to represent France at the Court of Rome. The Republic born on the overthrow of Louis Philippe had recalled him, and he had subsequently remained as a private resident at Rome, having been naturalized as a subject of the Pope, as has been mentioned. While so living in privacy at Rome, his advice had been largely sought by the Ministries which had succeeded one another, and by public men of all politics, except, perhaps, the extreme revolutionists. His fellow-citizens of Carrara had elected him as a Deputy in the Tuscan Parliament. Gioberti had been anxious that he should receive citizenship and a seat in the Subalpine Chamber; but the Roman non-republican Liberals had prevailed in persuading him to make Rome his home and his country. He was very strongly of opinion that any attempt to introduce Republican institutions into Italy would have resulted, not in the establishment of one great republic, nor of two or three, but of a hundred little republics; that, in a word, such a policy would have thrown Italy back on her old mediæval communes, and on the evils to which they had been a prey. Monarchy, he thought,

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could alone weld Italy into a nation, and eventually liberate her from the yoke of the foreigner.

Rossi, as Farini, who knew well the man and all the circumstances, and who is perfectly trustworthy, relates in his "Stato Romano,"* accepted the commission to form a Ministry very unwillingly. To those who urged him to make the attempt, he represented that his long absence from Italy prevented him from having as perfect a knowledge of the men to be dealt with as was necessary; that he was much disliked by the popular party; that the fact of his having married a Protestant wife might prejudice him in some quarters; that it might be disagreeable to France to see her late ambassador high in office at Rome. Of all these difficulties, by very much the most serious was the fact that he was sure of the hostility of the "sectarians," as the non-republican writers of that day loved to call them—of the extreme Liberal party, that is to say, of the disciples of the "Giovine Italia," and the Republicans. The mere rumour of the probability of his being called to office (and it will be recollected that Pius the Ninth had thought of doing so before the step was definitely resolved on), caused a storm of threatening abuse to be raised by the whole of the parties above described. In the words of Farini, "the mediocrities feared a man of high abilities; those who found their account in the absence of all discipline, dreaded one known to be a severe enforcer of it; the recklessly violent hated the man whose hand was capable of holding them in check. From murmurings all these classes passed to calumniating, from calumny to menaces, in nowise secretly uttered, but in the 'Circoli' and in the streets. One day, Sterbini,"—the reader has met with his name already as prominent among the mischievous and noisy roysterers of the political gatherings—"in the presence of many deputies, broke out into a violent diatribe, declaring that if the Minister of Louis Philippe and the friend of Guizot should dare to appear as the Pope's Minister in Parliament, he should be stoned!" It will be seen that such words were no empty menaces!

The first cares of Rossi were for the finance and the army—to attempt the preliminary steps towards the restoration of the

* Vol. ii., ch. 13.

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first, and to strengthen and consolidate the second. The negotiations for an Italian League between the sovereigns, more especially with Sardinia, were also carried on with better prospects of success than heretofore. Rosmini, who was highly esteemed by Pius and by a great number of the most eminent prelates around him, was sent by the Court of Sardinia to conduct the negotiations. On the 4th of November the Government put forth a declaration of its purposes conceived as follows:

"An Italian Congress in Rome is urgently necessary. The plan of the Pontificial Government is plain and most simple. It may be resumed in a few words. There is (meaning that it is proposed that there shall be) a political league between the constitutional and independent Italian monarchies, which agree to the proposed terms. The plenipotentiaries of each state shall forthwith assemble in Rome, in a preliminary congress, to deliberate on the common interests and establish the organic terms of the league. Pius the Ninth does not move from his lofty conception, desirous, as he has always been, to provide efficaciously by means of the Italian political league for the security, dignity, and prosperity of Italy and the constitutional monarchies of the Peninsula. Pius the Ninth is not led by particular interests or by ambitious views. He seeks nothing, he desires nothing, but the happiness of Italy, and the regular development of those institutions which he has given to his people. But at the same time, he will never lose sight of what he owes to the dignity of the Holy See and to the glory of Rome. Any proposal whatsoever that is incompatible with this sacred duty will be vainly offered to the Sovereign of Rome and the Head of the Church. The Pontificate is the only living greatness which remains to Italy, and which makes Europe and the whole Catholic world obsequious to her. This Pius the Ninth will never forget either as the Supreme Pontiff or as an Italian."

This declaration found little favour with the Romans. It could hardly have been expected to be otherwise. It has, it must be confessed, too great an appearance of a desire to quiet the people by an appearance of doing something notable, which should lead to something more notable yet; whereas it was in truth all empty talk, which could lead to nothing! And the

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portions of the declaration which really were significant—those passages in which the intention of upholding the constitutional *monarchies* of Italy, and the determination of the Pontiff to take no step tending to the diminution of his own sacerdotal or princely authority are spoken of—were of course received as a direct throwing down of the glove by all the republicans and revolutionists. What could the Ministers have said or done that would have been better? Nothing! The case was hopeless, the situation impossible!

The meetings of the factious malcontents were more frequent than ever. There were several circles, or clubs, the names of the leaders of which, and many of the principal frequenters of them, have been gibbeted on the records of the trial for the murder which their activity and their desires produced. But they are for the most part too obscure to make it of any interest to an English reader to reproduce them here. That Sterbini, whom we have already seen threatening murder, was the chief of one of these. A portion of the indelible disgrace which the event now to be related inflicted on the Liberal cause and the supporters of it in Rome, has fallen on, and cannot be removed from, the press which supported the same party. The writers in the *Contemporaneo* and the *Epoca* perseveringly held up Rossi to the hatred of the people as a haughty despiser of Roman men and things - a deceiver of the Sovereign, an enemy to the cause of the national independence. It is hardly possible that the ignorance and stupidity of the writers of these calumnies could have been so profound as to permit them to make such accusations in good faith! Sterbini, who had been to Turin to represent at a meeting of the "National Association" in that city, the "Circolo Popolare Romano," passed by Florence on his return, where at divers meetings the necessity of removing Rossi was spoken of. It is within the knowledge of the present writer, that, passing also by Perugia in the course of the same journey, he spoke there in a manner to let his hearers understand that "the removal" of Rossi was decided on. To the calumnies of the *Contemporaneo* and the *Epoca*, Rossi replied in the *Gazette* on the 14th of November, insisting on the existence of two parties equally bent on destroying the constitutional Government—the party of those who wished to go back to the past, and the party which, "openly stirring up-

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the passions and inexperience of a portion of the people, seeks to hurry the entire fabric of society into dissolution and anarchy. Both, differing as they do in their aims, use a common means, disorder. But be it known to both these parties that the constitutional Government of the Pontiff is watching them, and is resolved to do its duty." At the same time he brought into the city a reinforcement of Carabineers from the small towns of the Campagna, causing them to march through the streets in such sort as to be seen by the citizens.

It was subsequently proved by evidence given on the trial to which the murder gave rise, that the deed was discussed at a a meeting held towards the beginning of November, at which Ciceruacchio and several others, whose names, well known at Rome in those days, would be of no interest to the English reader, were present; and again at another meeting held on the 13th of November, at which Sterbini, Luigi Brunetti, the son of Ciceruacchio, and others were present. It was there stated that everything was prepared for the murder of Rossi on the 15th of November, and that if any attack should be made on the executors of the murder by the *Carabinieri* the associates should assemble in arms in the Piazza del Popolo, in the Piazza di Spagna, at the Bridge of St. Angelo, and the Piazza di Sant' Ignazio—central spots in different parts of the city. Pistols were then distributed to those present, together with five pauls (about two shillings) apiece. It was further given in evidence that one Grandoni, on the evening of the 14th, assembled in the Capranica Theatre a number of the men of the regiment* which had returned from Vicenza, and these, together with Ciceruacchio and Sterbini and others, drew lots for the names of those who were to do the murder. Six names were drawn, among whom was Luigi Brunetti, the son of Ciceruacchio.

Rossi received several warnings. Many of these had been abusive and threatening, and he had tossed them aside with

* This regiment, having been purged by its Colonel Galletti, and its Lieutenant-Colonel, Morelli, by weeding out the men of bad character, had left Rome on the previous 4th of September. The men thus eliminated formed themselves into a body, about a hundred and forty strong, and formed the trustiest body of patriots ready to commit murder at two shillings a head.

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contempt. One reached him on the morning of the 15th, warning him rather in the tone of a friend than of an enemy that his death was determined on. A lady wrote to him on that same morning, urging on him her strong presentiments of evil at hand. An old Polish general went to him and told him he had reason to fear that the threats against him would that day be found to be no mere menaces. And a priest, calling on him on a similar errand, warned him that his enemies were determined to murder him that day. To all these Rossi replied that he had taken all possible precautions, that he must go that day to the opening of the Parliament, for it lay in the path of his duty to do so, and that if by staying away he avoided a murderous knife on that occasion, it would be easy for the intending assassins to find another opportunity.

On the morning of that 15th of November, the day on which the Parliament was to be opened, the city showed no signs of agitation or perturbation. There were knots of men in the streets, talking of the Minister, of the Parliament, of the opposition. And although here and there, as Farini says, scared faces might have been observed, there was nothing to indicate that popular outbreak or tumult was near at hand. The same historian remarks that no precautions could have been taken more efficacious than those which were adopted. But this hardly seems, I think, to have been the case. The short distance from the spot where Rossi had to leave his carriage to the entrance to the Chamber should have been lined by a double hedge of troops. It is true, however, that, as Rossi said, safety on that occasion would only have caused his murderers to defer their purpose to another. And moreover there were great reasons to think that, with the exception of about forty dragoons, who served as the body-guard of the Pope and were supposed to be wholly trustworthy, not much reliance could be placed on the troops.

The hour for the opening of the Parliament was about noon. And it was not till that time that a crowd began to gather in the vicinity of the Chamber, in the Piazza della Cancelleria, which gradually filled the outer hall, and the public galleries of the House. There was a battalion of the Civic Guard drawn up in the Piazza. In the outer hall and the Chamber itself, there was no guard beyond the usual attendants. But a con-

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siderable number of the corps formed, as has been explained, of the bad characters of the regiment which had capitulated at Vicenza, and had been sent into the Legations in September, in their old uniforms, armed with daggers, and with the medals on their breasts with which the municipality had decorated them (!), were collected in the entrance hall. These men stood shoulder to shoulder, and formed a double line from the door to the foot of the stair. "Terrible faces," says Farini, "were to be seen among them, and bitter imprecations were on their lips."

It was nearly half-past one when it became known that Rossi's carriage was at hand, coming from the Quirinal. While there, he received a last warning from the head of the police, who had hurried thither to tell him that it was evident that some violence was about to be attempted. He gave orders for the disposition of all the *Carabinieri* at such points as he thought most required them for the general preservation of order; then saying to the police agent, "There is no help for it! Go I must!" he took General Righetti, his principal assistant in the finance department, in the carriage with him, and went to the Parliament House. Descending from his carriage, he was walking briskly, as was his wont, across the outer hall, when the lines of the patriot soldiers closed on him, separating him from Righetti, and crying, "Down with him!" "Death to Rossi!" "Kill him! Kill him!" It was one Santo Costantini whose hand struck the blow—a well-aimed one, for it severed the carotid artery. He fell, uttering the one word "Assassins!" and his body was carried by Righetti and his servant into the rooms of Cardinal Gazzoli, who resided on the first floor of the palace, where he expired almost immediately.

The murderers seeing that their work was accomplished, cried "The job is done! The job is done! Away! Away!" and they separated; no man of the immediately surrounding crowd, of the soldiers in the piazza, or of the police agents at the doors, attempting to stop them!

A fouler murder was never done! one so disgraceful to the community in the midst of which it was committed, rarely! And yet—so capricious is Fortune!—the Chamber of Italian Deputies, which voted in 1877 that a deputation of its members should be sent to Milan to do honour to a ceremonial in commemoration of the murderers, who were executed in that

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city in 1853 for traitorously stabbing Austrian soldiers in the streets, has not yet similarly done honour to the memory of the equally patriotic murderers of Pellegrino Rossi! Something, however, has been done by a grateful country. For there is an inscribed stone on a house in the Ripetta to mark it out to an admiring posterity as the residence of Ciceruacchio.

That same evening there were "fraternisations" between the leaders of the assassin party and the troops in different parts of the city. Bands went through the streets screaming "Hurrah for the second Brutus!" to which cries for "*a third Brutus*" responded. "Blessed be the hand that stabbed Rossi!" "Hurrah for the Carabineers!" "Death to the priests!" were the cries that filled the streets.

There must have been scared faces and sinking hearts in the council hall of the Quirinal that night! What was to be done? What could have been done had Pius the Ninth possessed all the wisdom of all his predecessors, with any hope of good result? All the surviving Ministers who were in Rome gave in their resignations to the Pontiff that same night. For the moment Montanari, who had held the portfolio of commerce, was induced to assume the functions of Minister of the Interior and Finance. The Holy Father despatched a messenger to General Zucchi, the War Minister, who was at Bologna, to require his immediate return, and ordered that the Swiss Colonel Lentulus should act as his *locum-tenens* till he could arrive. And Minghetti and Pasolini were charged to form a new Ministry. Both of them must have been perfectly aware of the hopelessness of the task!

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CHAPTER XVII.

MONSTER MEETING ON THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO.—COUNCIL AT THE QUIRINAL.—CAPTAIN OF SWISS GUARD REFUSES TO FIRE ON THE PEOPLE.—PEOPLE REFUSE A MINGHETTI AND PASOLINI MINISTRY.—FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES AT THE QUIRINAL.—APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE DRAWN UP BY THE POPE.—INSURGENTS MARCH TO THE QUIRINAL.—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—MURDER OF MONSIGNORE PALMA.—CARABINIERI TAKE PART WITH THE MOB.—SUGGESTION OF MONSIGNORE PENTINI.—DISPERSION OF THE RIOTERS, CALMED BY PENTINI'S PROMISE.—ROSMINI AND MAMIANI MINISTERS.—POPE MEDITATES QUITTING ROME.—ANECDOTE OF A PRESENT FROM THE BISHOP OF VALENCE.—DETAILS OF THE PONTIFF'S FLIGHT FROM ROME.

WHILE these hopeless consultations were being held at the Quirinal, the patriots of the Popular Club were settling *their* programme for the morrow. A Ministry, of whom Sterbini was to be one, was arranged, and a monster assembly fixed for the morrow on the Piazza del Popolo, at which the troops were to be invited to fraternise with the people. The principle of Italian nationality and the convocation of a constituent assembly were to be the leading objects of the new Ministry.

The Pontiff, informed of what was passing, and of what was being prepared, summoned to him at the Quirinal, on the morning of the 16th, the Presidents of the two Chambers, the Senator of Rome, and the Commander of the Civic Guard. The first thing to be done was to ascertain what resources of physical force the Government could still count on. The first consideration that met the little assembly was the fact that the Civic Guard was henceforward without a commander—Prince Aldobrandini resigned his command. The Pope offered the position to a Colonel Gallieno—a Liberal, we are told, but an honourable man—but he also declined the perilous task. As for the troops of the papal army, it was known that they were in nowise to be depended upon; and Lentulus, the Swiss Colonel, who was acting as Minister of War till General Zucchi, sent for from Bologna, could arrive, declared that he would in no

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case order the soldiers to fire on the people. In a word, it became clear that the Pope was wholly powerless in the midst of a population the disposition and tendencies of which the events of the previous day had sufficiently demonstrated. It was resolved to order the officers of the troops to go with their men to the meeting in the Piazza del Popolo "to prevent excesses" (!), to forbid the Civic Guard to take part in any demonstration, and to order all the officers "to behave themselves with their usual prudence."

It is impossible to record the details of such absolute helplessness without a sentiment of pity for the Pontiff, who had ascended the throne so short a time previously amid the enthusiastic applause of his subjects, and with unquestionably a sincere desire to ensure their welfare and happiness.

The next thing was the coming in of tidings that the sovereign people would not have Minghetti and Pasolini for Ministers, and the unhappy Pope was recommended to confide the formation of a Ministry—one cannot write the words without a sense of the irony of the recommendation—to one Galletti, a Liberal of the Liberals. Pius did so, telling him that he should expect his proposals that evening. In the meantime he called to him the representatives of all the foreign Powers accredited to the Vatican. There came D'Harcourt for France, Martinez de la Rosa for Spain, Liedekerk for the Netherlands, De Migueis for Portugal, Spaur for Bavaria, Boutenieff for Russia, Pareto for Piedmont, Figuerdo for Brazil, De Meester for Belgium, and Caunitz for Prussia. The Minister for Naples, by some accident, did not receive the Pope's invitation in time.

While waiting for the arrival of the diplomatic body, Pius drew up and sent to the *Gazette* the following appeal, which must be given *in extenso* because it is his own composition, and is characteristic of the man. It will be observed that the construction of the first sentence is not quite perfect. The agitation in which the document must have been composed would suffice to excuse a greater error.

"If we have loved, and love our subjects, as our conscience in the sight of God and in the sight of the world bears witness, the solicitude with which, from the first instance we were called by the Divine Providence to this sublime dignity so full

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of toil and danger, all our thoughts were turned to ameliorate the condition of our subjects, and to confirm them in their ancient affection to the Government of the Church by means of the goodness of institutions adapted to the times. We granted, before we were asked, all that appeared to us to be useful and good. We granted, as soon as asked, of that which many desired, all that appeared to us possible and right. But when the impatience of desire will not await the legitimate fruit of institutions but recently received with so much joy, and our subjects proceed to demand things which our conscience judges to be incompatible with the rights of that sovereignty of which we are depositories in the name of the Church, and with the welfare of our people, which cannot exist in conjunction with the disturbance of public order, then the necessity of duty imposes firmness of denial. And if it is wished to subject us to violence at the cost of crime, we shall bitterly deplore the shame to which the wickedness of a few exposes a good and generous population; but we are ready with humility of heart to suffer anything rather than bend our will to that to which we cannot and ought not to consent. On the contrary, with a firm voice we fulfil the obligation of the ministry which God has entrusted to us, to preach justice to all men in the midst of the drunkenness or the terror of the passions. We remember that above all peoples and above all princes there is the judgment of the Most High God, before whose tribunal there is no crime that does not contain within itself the seed of its own punishment. And in that mercy which is ever on the watch by the side of justice, we trust that this our voice may be heard, to the cessation of tumultuous and disorderly movements and excited agitations, and that peace and concord may shine forth over this city to which God has given so many pledges of His clemency."

There is something almost pathetic in the entertainment by the Pope of the notion that there was a possibility that such an appeal as this could be of any avail towards mitigating the evils of the situation.

In fact, the address was never published; for, while it was being printed, events marched so quickly as to overrun it. On the morning of that 16th of November a large crowd assembled on the Piazza del Popolo. There were many among them in

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the uniform of the Guardia Civica. There were also several Carabineers and soldiers of the Line, who had accepted the invitation of those who must now be called insurgents to join them. There were also several officers, who are stated to have been present "for the purpose of preventing excesses!" About mid-day the crowd proceeded to the Palazzo della Cancelleria, which was the place where the Deputies assembled. The sitting had not yet commenced, and there were a few Deputies only in the building. Among them was Sterbini, who, showing himself at a window, told the populace that "they must go to the Quirinal to obtain what they wanted—that the Pope would grant all they asked for; or that if he did not, now that they had begun, they must make an end of the matter!"

The crowd, increased by another got together by Prince Canino, with which it fell in by the way, proceeded towards the Quirinal. In the Via della Tre Cannelle they met Galletti, to whom the Pope had entrusted the formation of a Ministry, coming from the palace. They constrained him to return with them, for the purpose of presenting their demands to the Holy Father. He entered the palace for this purpose, and presently came out on to the piazza with the announcement that he was charged to form a Ministry.

The leaders of the populace, not contenting themselves with this, declared they would have a direct answer to their demands, and that on the spot; and they insisted on his returning into the palace with that demand. But at this the Pontiff became very indignant, and would make no concession. Galletti returned to the balcony overlooking the piazza, and told the people that the Pope would yield nothing under compulsion.

At that announcement a great cry arose: "To arms! To arms! Hurrah for the Republic!" The Civic Guards and Carabineers and the soldiers ran to get their firearms, and quickly came back to the Quirinal, some of them crying out for blood and slaughter. A cannon was brought and placed in front of the door of the palace. Barricades were formed at the openings of the neighbouring streets. At about five o'clock in the afternoon Sterbini, Prince Canino, and some half dozen other obscure men, went to the Circolo and there formed themselves into a "provisional government." Ciceruacchio and

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others remained at the Quirinal to direct the operations of the insurgents there.

In the meantime others of the crowd set fire to the lateral door of the palace in the Via Quirinale. Two Swiss guards who were at that gate fired on the rioters, and one man was wounded in the foot, The men of the fire-brigade came running up, and the fire, barely lighted up, was extinguished.

Others of the rioters began firing isolated shots at the windows of the palace, by one of which Monsignore Palma, the Pope's secretary for Latin letters, was killed in his apartment.

Some balls reached the Pope's own ante-chamber. Finding themselves thus attacked, the inmates of the palace despatched messengers in all haste to General Zamboni, entreating him to bring troops with all speed for the defence of the Holy Father. But the message seems never to have reached him till the following day. A summons to the *Carabinieri* was also despatched for the same purpose ; and a company of these men marched to the palace. But they took up a position with their faces turned towards the palace, and not towards the mob besieging it, in such sort that those within thought that their intention was to take part with the rioters—as no doubt it was. On their assuming this attitude the captain of them, together with another officer, entered the Quirinal, and made their way to the Pontiff's presence, intimating to him the necessity of yielding to the popular demands. They found the Pope surrounded by the members of the diplomatic body, and the Spanish Minister sharply reproved them for their conduct.

The captain of the Swiss Guards was then asked if he could undertake to defend the palace. He replied that he had no means by which the insurgents could be prevented from entering the gates —that he and his men would be forced back to the great staircase, and that the rioters would have no difficulty in passing over their dead bodies into the Pope's apartments. In this conjuncture it was suggested to the Pope by Monsignore Pentini, who was holding provisionally the office of Minister of the Interior, that the people might be told that the men they desired should be appointed to the Ministry, and that all the other things they asked should be decided on by the Chamber. Some of the leaders of the insurgents at this moment came into the palace, with the intimation that if a

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satisfactory answer were not given within a quarter of an hour the cannon should fire on the palace. On this being communicated to the Pontiff, he signed the paper prepared by Pentini to the above-mentioned effect, protesting that he acted under the compulsion of violence, and that all that he did was null and void; and just within the quarter of an hour named the paper signed was shown to the people, who, with shouts of rejoicing and firing off their muskets, dispersed about eight in the evening. Then, as all seemed quiet, the representatives of the various powers returned to their residences.

While the Quirinal was thus besieged, a part of the crowd had succeeded in forcing their way into the neighbouring Palazzo della Consulta, where Lambruschini lived. He had, however, found the means of escaping—hid himself in a hay-loft, and at night made his way into the adjoining convent of Carthusians; whence he escaped on the following day, and with a passport in a false name reached the Neapolitan territory.

The next morning, the 17th, the insurgents returned to the Quirinal, with the intention of disarming the Swiss Guard. But their design having become known at the palace, the Pope ordered them to hand over all the posts to be held by the Civic Guard. On this return of the rioters the body of foreign representatives again came to the Quirinal; and the Pope in their presence formally declared that he was under constraint, that he took no part in any governmental act, and that everything done in his name was null and void.

A Ministry had in the meantime been named, of whom the only men whose names are in any degree known were Rosmini and Mamiani. The latter was absent from Rome; and Rosmini on the 17th gave in his resignation, stating that he could see no hope of being of any use, and that in conscience he could not make part of a Ministry named by a Pope under constraint. The other Ministers drew up a lengthy programme, with which they waited on the Pontiff. He received them with all courtesy on the morning of the 19th, but absolutely declined to speak with them about any business or affairs of Government.

Pius had already on the 16th mentioned to the representatives of the Powers accredited to him his idea of leaving Rome. Nor can he, I think, be in any degree blamed for having come to such a resolution. He was absolutely powerless as if he had

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stood, in fact, isolated in the streets of Rome. He was entirely determined not to lend the authority of his name and his position to any further—or, at all events, to any unregulated and forced—advance of revolutionary hopes and doctrines. Nor can he, as it seems to me, be blamed either for this determination. It had by that time become abundantly clear that the purposes and wishes of that portion of his subjects who had the command of physical power in their hands were absolutely and fundamentally incompatible with the existence of a Pope-king at all events, if not with that of any king at all. To an Englishman watching the progress of events on the spot, this might have been evident with very sufficient certainty at a much earlier period. But it can hardly be a matter either of surprise or of blame that it should not have been so to Giovanni Mastai. Bribed by his vanity and craving love for flattery, fooled by the partly false, and wholly silly, unmeaning and fickle applause of his subjects, and not wholly and perfectly sincere himself, he had yet unquestionably ascended his throne with philanthropic purposes and beneficent intentions. And now the people whose affections, or rather perhaps whose applause, he had so eagerly desired, and whose welfare he had so truly striven to secure, insisted, while clearly showing how utterly valueless their professions of affection had been, on rushing forward in a path which he genuinely believed would lead them to their own ruin, and which he knew with all the unerring certainty of instinct would abolish him and all that he felt it to be his most sacred duty to preserve.

What remained for him but to quit a position in which he was absolutely powerless to do ought that he thought ought to be done, and in which his presence might be interpreted as sanctioning what he was most eagerly anxious to prevent from being accomplished?

It chanced that on the morning of the 19th a present from the Bishop of Valence in Dauphiné reached the Pontiff. It was a locket which Pius the Sixth had worn on his person, containing in it a portion of the consecrated Host, when he was carried away from Rome into France. The Bishop who sent it to him, writing on the 15th, said that Pius the Ninth, "the heir to his great predecessor's virtues, courage, and perhaps to his tribulations, might attach some value to this small but important relic,

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which I trust may not be destined to be used on a similar occasion. Yet to whom has it been given to discover the hidden designs of God?" The receipt of this opportune present finally determined Pius the Ninth to quit Rome. The fact that such was the case is much to his credit. For it tends in a remarkable manner to indicate that various more important acts in his subsequent career must be attributed to the sincere convictions of a mind saturated with superstitions of the most grovelling order, rather than to the promptings of any conscious hypocrisy.

The Pontiff's first intention was to go to France. But he subsequently changed his mind in favour of the Balearic Islands. He asked the Duc D'Harcourt, Minister of France, Martinez della Rosa, Minister of Spain, and the Count Spaur, Minister of Bavaria, to come to him; and with their assistance and advice arranged to leave Rome secretly on the evening of the 24th of November. The plan was that he should go first to Gaeta, and there await a Spanish ship, which should take him to Majorca.

Meantime almost all the Cardinals left Rome, the greater number of them finding a refuge on the territory of Naples.

On the evening of the 24th, at about five o'clock, the ordinary hour of audience, the French Minister went to the Quirinal, purposing to remain in the Pope's apartment till he should have left the palace. Pius in the meantime divested himself of his papal robes, put on the habit of a simple priest, with a large broad-brimmed hat, and carefully hung around his neck Pius the Sixth's locket, taking care that there should be within it a morsel of the consecrated wafer. Then, accompanied only by his private seneschal, Benedetto Filippani, he passed by an upper passage of the huge palace, ordinarily used only by the domestics, to a small winding stair which comes down from it into the courtyard called the Court of the Swiss. There the carriage of Filippani, which was wont to leave the palace at that hour, awaited him; he got in, and was driven through the great gateway into the street without inquiry or accident. The coachman had previously received orders to drive home—*i.e.*, to the Piazzi di Ara Cœli where Filippani lived. Arrived there, he was told to drive by the Piazza Trajana, the Colisseum and the Via Labicana and to stop in front of the Church of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus—a remote and

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little-frequented spot. There his holiness left the carriage of Filippani and entered that of Count Spaur, the Minister of Bavaria, which was awaiting for him, with the Minister in it. Thus he passed out of the gate leading to the Appian Way, and quickly left behind him the city in which less than thirty months previously he had received the tribute of universal applause, and professions of universal affection and devotion.

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BOOK III.

FROM THE FLIGHT TO GAETA, ON THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1848,

TO HIS FIRST "NON POSSUMUS," ON THE 8TH JANUARY, 1860.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE JOURNEY TO GAETA.—POPE'S LETTER TO THE MARCHESE VACCHETTI.—ASPECT OF THE CITY AFTER THE POPE'S DEPARTURE.—MAMIANI.—CANINO.—FRENCH INVITATION TO THE POPE.—FERDINAND OF NAPLES AT GAETA.—PIUS ATTEMPTS TO CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT FROM GAETA.—HIS PROTEST.—COMMISSION NAMED BY HIM.—ITS IMPOTENCE.—RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY.—THE POPE MAKES NO REPLY.—DISCUSSION IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—COMMISSION SENT TO GAETA BY THE DEPUTIES.—NOT ALLOWED TO PASS THE NEAPOLITAN FRONTIER.—PROGRESS TOWARDS ANARCHY IN ROME.—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DETERMINED ON.—SECOND PROTEST BY THE POPE.—HIS CIRCULAR TO THE SOVEREIGNS.—REPLY OF CARLO ALBERTO.—ANSWER OF PIUS.

THE carriage of the Bavarian Minister, in which Pius quitted the city, was not adapted for the journey the Pontiff proposed to make. He travelled in it only as far as Aricia—the first stage of Horace's journey to Brundusium—and there quitting it, went to a spot close to a fountain in a dark valley near Galloro, where he found a carriage waiting for him, which had been prepared for the journey in Albano, a mile or two on the Roman side of Aricia. In this carriage was the Countess Teresa Spaur, the Bavarian Minister's wife, her son, and her son's tutor, the Jesuit Liebl. Count Spaur, from his long residence in Rome, and from having married an Italian wife, had become well-nigh an Italian. He was a man of narrow and illiberal turn of mind, to whom the insurrection, and all the liberalising movement leading up to it, were utterly and equally odious. His Countess had been a noted and much admired beauty, and was just beginning to seek in a sentimental and poetical sort of devotion the amusement and excitement which admiration was now failing to afford her. She desired nothing better than to second her husband in the business he was that night engaged on. With these companions the Pope took his place in the fourth seat, while the Minister, Count Spaur, got on the box. Thus travelling they reached the Neapolitan fron-

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tier at six in the morning, whereupon the Pontiff "immediately intoned the Ambrosian Hymn," a circumstance which would seem to indicate that he had felt the chances of his escape to be critical, and the danger attending the enterprise not altogether insignificant.

On arriving at Mola di Gaeta, he found there Cardinal Antonelli in secular attire, together with Signor Arnau, the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, who had travelled with him thither. There Pius rested a few hours in a small inn called "Il Cicerone," and that same evening went on to Gaeta, where, still preserving his incognito and his disguise, he took up his abode at the sole little poorly-furnished hotel of the place.

On leaving Rome, the Pope had left a letter addressed to the Marchese Sacchetti, the principal steward of his household, couched in the following terms:

"MARCHESE SACCHETTI,—We trust to your known prudence and integrity to inform the Minister Galletti of our departure, enjoining on him, and on all the other Ministers, to protect not so much the palaces as those who are employed in connection with them, and yourself, who were all entirely ignorant of our determination; for, while we have much at heart the safety of yourself and of the persons in our employment, since we deem that all of them were ignorant of our intention, we are yet more concerned to recommend to the gentlemen in question the tranquillity and order of the entire city."

This letter was published by Galletti on the morning of the 25th, and copies of it were sent to the foreign ambassadors. At the same time he published a declaration addressed to the Romans, in which he said that "the Pope had left Rome, persuaded by evil counsels," and appealed to the population to abstain from all agitation and excesses.

The aspect of the city on that morning of the 25th of November, 1848, was not a cheerful or jubilant one. An observer might have thought that the people were alarmed and uneasy at the success of their own work! Mamiani, returned to Rome, was, after many refusals, persuaded to enter the popularly-appointed Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs, from consideration of the extreme needs of the State, and of the dangers of the moment. At the first meeting of the Chamber, Canino, ever, like the stormy petrel, busiest in time of tempest, and

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eager to increase the perils of the situation, demanded the immediate convocation of an Italian Constituent Assembly. Mamiani replied, seeking to throw oil on the troubled waters, and declaring that the object to which his efforts tended was a confederation of the Italian States. Canino again rose, stigmatising so bastard a conception, and insisting upon the immediate calling of a Constituent Assembly by universal suffrage—the ever-ready nostrum of the demagogue, who aims at the despotism which is the unfailing complement of his ideal. The programme of Mamiani was voted, however, unanimously, with the exception of the sole vote of Canino—thus frustrated by the practical sense of the Italians in his scarcely-to-be-mistaken hopes of riding the whirlwind he was so anxious to evoke!

Mamiani proposed to the Principe della Cisterna, then at Paris, and to Carlo Pepoli, then at London, to become the representatives of the Roman Government at those Courts. Both declined. He then employed the advocate Filippo Canuti in a similar capacity; but neither of the Governments named were at all disposed to enter into relations which implied the recognition of the existing Roman Government. France, indeed, on the contrary, feeling, as ever, that Italy's misfortune was her opportunity, hastened, in the person of General Cavaignac, then the Chief of the Executive Power, to prepare an expedition to succour the Pope. Three thousand five hundred men were embarked on board of four steamships, with De Courcelles as Ambassador Extraordinary. The immediate object of the mission was to induce the Pope to take refuge in France. The expedition arrived off Civita Vecchia on the 4th of December, to find the Pope no longer in Rome, and its mission being thus forestalled, returned—not, however, without a vehement protest on the part of the Roman Ministry, in the face of Europe, against this unwarranted intervention of France.

De Courcelles personally proceeded to Gaeta, thinking that it might still be possible to induce the Pope to place himself under the protection of France. Cavaignac also, by a letter addressed to the Holy Father on the 3rd of December, strove to induce him to take that step. But Pius, who, despite all that had occurred to put enmity between him and the Romans, had a strong feeling of Italian patriotism, and who, despite all that has come and gone, has it still (subject only to the pro-

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vision that he is a priest first, and Italian afterwards), could not be induced to take any such step.

Ferdinand the Second of Naples was not content with sending either message or messenger to the Pontiff. Immediately on hearing that Pius the Ninth had sought a refuge on his territory, he caused a great provision of all that might be needed for the Pontiff's personal comfort to be put on board three steamers, and on the following morning he embarked himself, with all the royal family, and a company of Grenadiers, set sail, and at one in the afternoon arrived at Gaeta. Meeting Cardinal Antonelli on the Mole, it was arranged between them that the Pope should, while still keeping his disguise, pass from the hotel to the palace which the King possessed at Gaeta. There the King and all the royal family awaited him, and received him with all possible marks of respect and veneration.

Pius the Ninth attempted to carry on the government of his dominions from his refuge at Gaeta. On the 27th of November he put forth a document in which, after speaking bitterly of the ingratitude of those who had rebelled against him, and compelled him to place himself in a position which might lead the Catholic world to doubt whether he were a free agent, and rehearsing the facts that he had been subjected to "unheard-of and sacrilegous violence," and that he had verbally protested to that effect on "the fatal evening of the 16th of November, and again on the morning of the 17th, before the diplomatic body, which had surrounded him and done so much to comfort his heart," he again solemnly repeats the same protest—that is, "that, having been subjected to violence, we declare all the acts resulting from that violence of no validity, and void of legal effect." "In the meantime," he proceeds, "having it at heart not to leave the government of our dominions without a head (*acefalo*) in Rome, we name a governing Commission, composed of the following members: The Cardinal Castracane, the Prelate Roberto Roberti, the Prince of Roviano, Prince Barberini, the Marchese Bevilacqua, the Marchese Ricci, and Lieutenant-General Zucchi." He concludes by desiring the fervid prayers of his subjects for "his humble person, and for the restoration of peace to the world, and especially to our dominions and to Rome, where our heart always is, whatever spot of Christ's fold we may temporarily

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inhabit. And we, foremost of all, as is the duty of our supreme priesthood, will most devoutly invoke the great Mother of Mercy and Immaculate Virgin, and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to the end that, as we ardently desire, the indignation of Omnipotent God may be averted from the city of Rome and all the State."

A private autograph letter to Cardinal Castracane of the same date directs him to prorogue the Chambers of Parliament, not to be assembled again save by sovereign command. He tells the members of the Commission that they are empowered to decide on all affairs of State, but that all appointments made by them are provisional, needing his confirmation when he should be restored to his State. In reply to a communication from the members of the Commission requesting further directions, Pius, on the 7th of December, after some instructions as to the matters which must be referred to him, and those which needed no such reference, tells them that they may select other persons to assist them, "always, however, to the exclusion of those composing the so-called Ministry forced on him on the 16th of November." He remarks that he had not placed the direction of foreign affairs under either of the persons named in the Commission, because he had entrusted that department to a Cardinal near him." (Antonelli.)

When, on the 3rd of December, the above-quoted papal declaration of the 27th November was known publicly in Rome, the Ministry of the 16th November sent their resignations to the Pontiff at Gaeta; but he made no reply whatever, considering, probably, that to have done so might have been held to imply an admission that they *were* Ministers.

The Chamber of Deputies met on that same 3rd of December, and after a long discussion came to a vote, that the papal rescript of the 27th of November had no character of authenticity, and even if it had had, was altogether unconstitutional, and therefore of no effect. It was decided also that the Ministry of the 16th of November should continue to hold their offices. Both Chambers voted addresses to the Holy Father, begging him to return to his dominions; and a Commission of Deputies was sent to carry these addresses to him at Gaeta. When however the Commissioners arrived in the night preceding the 6th of December at the Neapolitan

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frontier, an inspector of police intimated to them that he had received orders not to allow them to proceed. The addresses therefore were sent under cover to Cardinal Antonelli; who replied shortly that the declaration of the Holy Father, of the 27th of November, had declared the causes of his leaving Rome, and that it was painful to him to be obliged therefore to decline receiving persons who came with the special object of requesting his return.

Meantime matters were rapidly advancing towards anarchy and a dissolution of civil society in Rome. As invariably happens in analogous circumstances, the better, the more educated, the more thoughtful, the more responsible men withdrew from the attempt to direct the storm they had contributed to evoke. The power, such power as it was still possible to exercise, had fallen into the hands of those who were merely nominees, not even of the populace, but of the more turbulent and anarchical populace; and was rapidly falling into those of the populace themselves. The sorely perplexed members of the Commission appointed, as has been seen, by Pius, quietly floating at rest in the back-water of Gaeta, finding themselves wholly powerless, wrote pressing letters to the Holy Father asking further "instructions" (!) and sugesting that a continuance in authority of those Ministers of the 16th of November might be, in a way, connived at, for fear of worse, since other authorities there was none. Pius, however, was *intransigente* upon this point. It was his first *non possumus*. And in fact it mattered little. For the torrent soon swept past the Ministers in question; a triumvirate was formed—to become almost immediately a duumvirate by the resignation of Prince Corsini, one of its members; and the duumvirate in a proclamation, invoking the supreme safety of the State as a condonation for deficiency in formal legality, declared that a Constituent Assembly should at once be called, elected by universal secret suffrage, *no judicial conviction against any individual to disqualify him from exercising it.*

It would be by no means without interest to trace the progress of the anarchy which succeeded in Rome to the Pope's departure. But it is necessary to withstand the tendency which an attempt to produce a succinct biography of Pius the Ninth has to encroach on the much more ambitious task of the

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historian of his "life and times;" if only from consideration of the space prescribed for the execution of the present work.

On the 17th of December, the Pope issued another long protest, rehearsing the efforts he had made to meet the wishes and ensure the well-being of his people, complaining of the ungrateful return he had met with, and declaring all acts done by the persons calling themselves a Government at Rome to be altogether null and void.

Though he had not yet, as it would seem, recognised the futility of any hope that he could return to Rome and resume his authority by means of any power of his own, or of any resipiscence on the part of his subjects, he had on the 4th of December addressed a circular to all the Sovereigns with whom he was in amicable relations, informing them of the circumstances under which he had quitted Rome, aad invoking their assistance. Carlo Alberto, King of Sardinia, sent an answer dated the 24th by the hands of the Bishop of Savona and the Marchese Montezemolo, inviting the Pope to come to Nice, or to any other place in his States which he might prefer, and observing that if the Holy Father should think it desirable to have recourse to armed assistance for securing his return to Rome, it would be preferable that he should seek such aid from an Italian rather than from any ultramontane power.

Pius, in return, offered to the King his grateful thanks; but said that having found a resting-place in the adjoining State of Naples, he thought it best not to separate himself from his subjects by a greater distance, till he should have lost all hope of a prompt return to his own dominions. With regard to the suggestions in the King's letter, the Pope replied that he had written to all the sovereigns with whom he was in relation, invoking their help and their counsels, and that he must await their replies.

And so the year 1848 closed on the phenomenon once again presented to the world of an exiled Pope.

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CHAPTER XIX.

PAPAL BRIEF OF THE FIRST DAY OF 1849.—RESPONSES OF THE POWERS TO THE PAPAL APPEAL.—ENVOY SENT BY GIOBERTI.—REPLY OF THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT.—VANITY OF GIOBERTI'S HOPES.—POSITION OF FRANCE.—LINE TAKEN BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.—GOVERNMENTS OF SARDINIA, TUSCANY, AND NAPLES.—POLICY OF FRANCE.—ANTONELLI'S CIRCULAR NOTE OF THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY.—FEELING IN FRANCE AFTER THE BATTLE OF NOVARA.—POPE HOLDS A CONSISTORY ON THE 20TH OF APRIL.—OFFENCE TAKEN BY THE SARDINIAN GOVERNMENT.—CONSISTENCY OF AUSTRIA, AND INCONSISTENCY OF FRANCE.—ARRIVAL OF FRENCH TROOPS AT CIVITA VECCHIA ON THE 25TH OF APRIL, 1849.—DECLARATION BY GENERAL OUDINOT.—ROME DECIDES TO RESIST THE FRENCH TROOPS.—OUDINOT'S MARCH TO ROME.—FIRST ATTACK ON THE 30TH OF APRIL.—MAZZINI MISTAKES THE FEELING OF FRANCE.—POPE SENDS A GOVERNOR TO CIVITA VECCHIA.—FRENCH GOVERNMENT SEND M. LESSEPS TO ROME.—NEGOTIATIONS.—ATTACK OF THE 21ST OF JUNE.—FRENCH TROOPS ENTER ROME.

ON the first day of the year, 1849, Pius published a brief address to his subjects, and forbidding them to take any part whatever in the election of members to serve in the proposed Constituent Assembly, warning them that this his prohibition was sanctioned by many decrees of his predecessors, and of councils, especially that of Trent, which fulminated the greater excommunication *ipso facto* against all who should be guilty of any attempt against the temporal power of the Roman Pontiffs.

It would seem that Pius at this time still entertained the hope that he would be able to return to Rome under the protection of his own troops, trusting especially for this hope to a couple of regiments of Swiss. All such expectations, however, turned out to be futile; and it was evident that the Pope's return depended on the replies to the applications he had made to the Catholic Powers.

The first of these which had come to hand, that of Sardinia, as told in the preceding chapter, had been very unacceptable to the Pope. And the steps by which the Piedmontese Govern-

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ment followed up that reply were yet more distasteful to him. Gioberti, who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs in the sub-Alpine kingdom, sent Count Enrico Martini as Envoy Extraordinary to the Holy Father; but sent him also to the Government established in Rome. It seems strange, and is a remarkable instance of the facility with which everybody can see, when subsequent events have thrown their light upon the past, that which the wisest cannot see at the time, that Gioberti should have thought it possible that any good could have been accomplished by an envoy charged with this two-fold mission. Gioberti's instructions to his envoy were to the effect that he was to maintain "officious relations" with the *de facto* Government existing in Rome, and "official relations" with the Holy Father. The special objects of his mission were two-fold—the reconciliation of the Holy Father with the Roman people, and the speedy realization of an Italian Confederation. At least, the most elementary knowledge of the situation might have counselled the Piedmontese envoy, if his mission were sincerely one of conciliation, to go first to Gaeta. But Count Martini did the reverse. He reached Rome on the 6th of January, remained there three days, during which he had several conferences with the men in power there, and *then* proceeded to Gaeta, and presented himself to Cardinal Antonelli on the 11th.

It was replied to his statement of his quality and his errand, that the Holy Father required some days of reflection before receiving him in the capacity of envoy from the King of Sardinia. In the first place the usual courtesy of an enquiry as to the acceptability of a new ambassador had been neglected. It was also to be observed that the Piedmontese Government maintained officious relations with the Roman rebels—that it was an idea unworthy of the Government of the King to interpose as a mediator between the Holy Father and rebels—that it was intolerable that two laymen should be residing in Turin in the quality of Roman Legates; and, lastly, that the idea which the Piedmontese Government seemed to cherish of realizing an Italian Constituent Assembly could come to no good.

Gioberti was much angered by this language. He wrote on the 16th of January to Martini, that since the Papal Government did not like the mediation offered, the King withdrew the

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offer. He instructed his envoy to insist energetically on being forthwith received, and to quit Gaeta at once if this was not accorded. These representations and the good offices of the French ambassador induced the Pope to receive Martini on the 23rd of January. The Sardinian envoy upon that occasion again spoke of mediation, and the Pope is said to have listened to his overtures favourably. Thereupon Gioberti, on the 30th of the same month, wrote triumphantty to Mamiani, the President of the Provisional Roman Government, to move him to open negotiations with the Papal Government. He specially gives it as his opinion that the Constituent Assembly to be then forthwith opened should as its first act "recognise the constitutional rights of the Holy Father."

The higher vantage-ground which we now occupy for the judging these events and the actors in them must in fairness not be overlooked, as I mentioned before. But with all allowance for this, it does seem to afford a striking illustration of that tendency to roseate hallucinations, which inspired Gioberti's book on the "Primato d'Italia," that it should have been possible for him to hope that any such basis of accord could be found. There was not the smallest chance that either party should yield any of the really important points on which their views differed. The Sardinian Minister ought to have known that, even if the phrase "constitutional rights of the Holy Father" had not involved, as it does emphatically involve, a contradiction in terms, the men composing the Constituent Assembly were by no means disposed to accord any such rights to any sovereign, lay or clerical. This, however, was a point upon which it was more easy for him to have been mistaken than it should have been for him to misunderstand so fundamentally the other side of that insoluble equation which he was bent on adjusting. If the Pope seemed to listen to Martini favourably when he spoke of mediation between the Apostolic See and the men who had usurped the Pontiff's authority in Rome, it was solely because it is the nature of the man to be affable, and to prefer checkmating an adversary behind his back to contradicting his assertions and scouting his arguments to his face. Antonelli had given him the truer aspect of the papal policy. "Sint ut sunt!" If a man should limit his view to the primitive ages of the Church, and evolve his notion of an ideal

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Pontiff from the theories which have their roots in the history of those centuries, he might well conceive the idea of a Pope who should exercise temporal power within the bounds of a constitution and of responsibility to the body of the Faithful. It is possible also—a more important consideration—to combine papal pretensions and purposes, such as the history of the Roman Church has made them, with the forms and phantoms of democracy, even as Cæsarism may be combined with them. But that the heir of the Gregories, the Innocents, the Alexanders, and the Clements should become a constitutional sovereign Pope is surely a wilder vision than any Utopia ever harboured!

Looking merely as a politician, however, at the then condition of Europe generally, it seems to have been a very vain imagination to suppose that the issue from the present state of things at Rome would be allowed, by those powers of Europe which wielded large amounts of physical force, to be arranged by means of measures concerted between the Sardinian Government—especially in the hands of such a man as Gioberti—and the Roman Republicans. It is true that the situation was in some degree complicated, and hopes and illusions in some degree rendered possible by the anomalous condition of France. The Romans wanted to have a Republic. And France was a republic, while Sardinia was a monarchy. And it was not clearly understood till subsequently that while Sardinia was a monarchy with a king and ministers desirous of Italian amelioration, progress, and freedom, France was a republic with a chief who desired none of these things at all, and citizens who, with the exception of a very small and powerless party, by no means desired them for Italy.

The Spanish Government responded to the application of the Holy Father by addressing, on the 21st of December, 1848, a circular note to those of Austria, France, Bavaria, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples, inviting them to nominate plenipotentiaries to a conference for the determination of the means of re-establishing the Head of the Church in that state of liberty, independence, dignity and authority absolutely necessary to the exercise of his sacred functions, at the same time indicating the place which the Governments addressed might consider fittest for the holding of such a conference.

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The Spanish Government, "to save time," expressed its opinion that Madrid, or some other Spanish town, was the best place for the purpose. Pius, on the purport of this circular being communicated to him, expressed his opinion to the effect that it would be better to hold the proposed conference in the place where he was. Sardinia and Tuscany thought the conference a very proper thing, but protested against calling any foreign soldiers into Italy. Naples approved of the Spanish suggestion, but agreed with the Holy Father as to the place at which such a conference should be held, offering Naples for the purpose. Ferdinand the Second also charged his representatives at London, Petersburg, and Berlin to propose to those Governments to take part in the conference. England replied that the Pope had not applied to her on the subject, and till he did she could not say what line she might take under such circumstances. Prussia said that if the other Powers agreed to such a conference, she would agree. Russia refused to have anything to say to the matter.

All this, however, signified little or nothing. The question was what Austria and France would say and do in the matter. The course of Austria was abundantly clear, and might have been predicted with certainty, save in so far as her wishes and line of conduct might be modified by the action of France. Austria simply wished to keep all quiet and perpetuate the *status quo* in Italy, and was perfectly ready to restore the Pope to his throne and keep him there by Austrian bayonets.

The position of France at Gaeta was difficult. Her representatives were looked askance at, her motives suspected by every one of those assembled there. France was a republic, having recently become such, and suspected of republican propagandism. The chief of the State was one who had been once on a time—in 1830—expelled from Rome as a conspirator, and who in the following year had been in arms against the papal troops. He had also quite recently been opposed to the expedition sent by Cavaignac to Civita Vecchia. Notwithstanding all this it was impossible for the Pontiff and his supporters to shape their conduct without reference to France; and the attempts to do so would have at once produced dissension between France and Austria.

On the 19th of February, Cardinal Antonelli addressed a

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circular note to the representatives of the Powers accredited to the Holy See, in which, after referring to the Pope's request for the intervention of the Powers, dated on the 4th of the preceding December, he goes on to point out that the decree "calling itself fundamental," which had been put forth on the 9th of February by the Constituent Assembly at Rome, had "neglected no means of reaching the culminating point of wickedness," and "was overflowing with the blackest felony and the most abominable impiety," in such sort that the Holy Father, seeing his supreme dignity both as Sovereign and as Pontiff thus set at nought, "protests in the face of all potentates, and all nations, and of every individual Catholic man in all the world, against this excess of irreligion, against so violent an attempt at spoliation of his imprescriptible and sacred rights, declaring that if prompt remedies be not adopted, help would arrive when the states of the Church, now in the power of his most bitter enemies, were altogether reduced to ashes." The Holy Father therefore again appeals for moral help to all men, nations and Powers. "And inasmuch as Austria, France, Spain, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are by reason of their geographic position in a situation to be able to come readily with their arms to re-establish order in the dominions of the Holy See, the Holy Father for that reason and in the religious interest of those Powers, the daughters of the Church, demands with full confidence their armed intervention for the liberation of the Apostolic State from that band of evil men, who with every sort of abomination are exercising there the most atrocious despotism." He concludes by urging that "the Powers above mentioned should delay not a moment in affording the assistance demanded of them, rendering themselves thus well-deserving of the cause of public order and of religion."

France had already begun to feel jealous of the power and influence of Austria after the battle of Novara; and on the 31st of March the Assembly of the Republic voted an address, declaring that, "if for the purpose of securing the interest and honour of France, the executive power should think fit to support its negotiations by means of a partial and temporary occupation of any whatsoever point of Italian territory, such a measure would meet with the most sincere and entire adhesion

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on the part of the Assembly." And on the 16th of April the Minister of War asked for the supplies needed for the expense of the proposed expedition. On that occasion the President of the Council, in making the proposal to the Chamber, said:— "Austria pursues the consequences of her victory. . . . . France cannot remain indifferent. The protection of our subjects, care for the maintenance of our influence in Italy, and the desire to contribute to the obtaining of good government for the Roman population, all combine to make it our duty to avail ourselves of the power you have given us." Of course the second of the three reasons here adduced was the true and the prevailing one, and the key-note of the motives of the French policy was struck at the outset of the President's speech, when he declared that Austria was pursuing the consequences of her victory.

On the 20th of April Pius announced, in a Consistory held that day, the motives that had led him to ask for the armed intervention of the four Powers which had been named. Austria was applied to as "our neighbour on the north, who has never failed to lend her aid in defence of the temporal dominion of the Apostolic See." A similar invitation had been addressed to France, "towards which nation we feel a singular affection and kindness, in that the clergy and the faithful of that nation strove in every way to comfort and mitigate our bitterness and troubles by the most abounding demonstrations of filial devotion and affection." Spain was appealed to because she had been the first to propose a filial alliance between the Catholic Powers for the restoration to his throne of the common Father of the Faithful and supreme pastor of the Church. Finally, similar assistance was asked from Naples, in the dominions of which "we are the guest of a King, who, occupying himself to the utmost of his power in promoting the true and valid felicity of his people, so shines with religion and piety as to serve for an example to his subjects himself."

It is singular that the Pope should have judged it necessary or expedient to make such statements as the above, well knowing them to be in most direct and flagrant contradiction with the truth.

The Sardinian Government was much offended at having been passed over unnoticed in the invitation thus addressed by

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the Pontiff to other Powers. And Gioberti addressed bitter remonstrances to Antonelli on the subject. But very shortly afterward he left the Ministry, and his successor, General Chiodo, addressed new remonstrances to Antonelli against the entry of foreign troops into Italy. It was in truth much better for the Piedmontese Government not to have been invited to take any part in the armed intervention for the restoration of the papal power. And it would have been supposed that as much might have been perceived by a statesman sufficiently farsighted to have foreseen the position with reference to the Italian people, into which the action of the Piedmontese State, already well determined on, was likely to bring that monarchy.

It very soon became clear that the replacing of the Pope on his throne would be left to the French, while the re-establishment of his authority in the Legations would fall to the share of Austria. But the position assumed by each of these two Powers was very widely different. Austria, in occupying the Legations at the request of their recognised sovereign the Pope, was acting in accordance with her avowed, traditional, and sincerely maintained policy and principles. The French Republic, in sending an expedition to Rome to suppress by force the Roman Republic and compel the Romans to submit to the Papal Government, placed itself before the world in a position so false and so flagrantly in contradiction with its profession and principles, that it had to be propped and excused by an uninterrupted series of false pretences and diplomatic juggling. The sight of the soldiers of republican France in the streets of Rome compelling the Romans to submit to a very much worse government than that which the French themselves had rejected at the cost of revolution, and doing so professedly for the sake of French religion, was a singularly loathsome one, and grievously revolting and demoralizing to the conscience of Europe!

So much diplomatic talk had to preface the putting into execution of the French intervention, that it was not till the 25th of April, 1849, that General Oudinot, to whom the conduct of the expedition was entrusted, disembarked his troops at Civita Vecchia. The Provisional Government at Rome sent a deputation to Civita Vecchia to protest. Oudinot, in reply, said that "the only object of France was the maintenance of her influence in Italy; that the Pontifical States were menaced by

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an Austrian and Neapolitan intervention, and he was come to avoid that; further, that France had no desire to interfere with the free wishes of the Roman people." There was a greater degree of truth in this than could perhaps have been expected. The first assertion was absolutely true; the second partially so, in as much as France knew very well that the step she was taking could only have the effect of preventing the intervention of other Powers *at Rome*, and not as regarded the whole Pontifical State; and the last assertion of the French commander was wholly false.

On the 28th, Oudinot sent his aide-de-camp Leblanc to Rome, to announce to the Triumvirate Government that it was his intention to march on Rome, and he hoped to be received in a friendly manner. Mazzini, who was now one of the triumvirs at Rome, communicated this message to the Assembly, which decided that the Triumvirate should "save the Republic, and resist force by force." The populace received this decision with enthusiasm, and with cries of "Death to the Priests!" "Hurrah for the Republic!"

It was finally decided, in spite of further attempts on the part of the French commander to induce the Romans to receive his troops as friends, and endeavours on the part of a portion of the citizens to cause such overtures to be accepted, that the city, hopeless as the effort seemed, should resist.

Oudinot moved from Civita Vecchia on the 28th of April, got to Palo that evening, and the following day to Castel Guido. On the morning of the 30th he advanced on Rome. But the French staff had on this, as on more important subsequent occasions, wholly neglected to provide themselves with any modern map of the country in which they were about to operate. They had an old map, which led them to suppose that the city could be entered by the Porta Pertusa (in the neighbourhood of the existing Porta Angelica), which would have been adapted to their purpose, but that it had been walled up for the last two centuries! This, and the fact that Oudinot had hoped that a mere demonstration would have sufficed to cause the opening of the city gates, caused the resistance of this first day to be successful. Oudinot retired after midnight to Castel Guido, with the loss, in killed, wounded, and pri-

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soners, of about five hundred men. The Romans that night buried forty-two French corpses outside the Vatican wall.

During the skirmish of the 30th April, the cupola of St. Peter's and the Apostolic Palace were slightly injured by the fire of the French, and a couple of bullets pierced the tapestry in the Vatican, representing Raffaelle's Paul preaching at Athens. The Municipality of Rome caused a minute account of these injuries to be drawn up, and sent to the Municipality of Paris!

Oudinot proposed an exchange of prisoners. The Romans determined on sending back their prisoners freely without bargaining for any exchange, Mazzini remarking that these prisoners would return to their comrades of the army of occupation as apostles, and that the Romans were by this act inviting the development of opinion in their favour among the French; that such a current of opinion was from day to day becoming more powerful in France, from which "we," that is, the Triumvirate Government, have good news. It is remarkable that Mazzini, whose means of information were ordinarily so good, and whose own appreciation of the currents of national opinion was for the most part so shrewd and correct, should have fallen into such an error, if indeed he spoke on this occasion what he really thought. The whole current of French feeling and opinion, except among the members of the very small party which may be called that of the philosophical and intellectual Radicals, was strongly hostile to Italy generally, and especially to the rebellion against the Pope.

The President of the French Republic, on the other hand, wrote on the 5th of May, to Oudinot, that he was much grieved at the resistance which had repulsed the French troops; that he had hoped that the Romans would have opened their gates; that the honour of France was compromised; and that reinforcements should forthwith be sent.

In the meantime the Pope, as soon as he became aware of the occupation of Civita Vecchia by the French, sent a prelate thither as governor. Oudinot, however, would not permit him to enter on any such functions. But the incident is worth mentioning only for the sake of some passages of the letter which Oudinot wrote, on the 4th of May, on the subject to the French Minister of War. "At Gaeta," he writes, "they

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are beyond all belief deluded as to the dispositions of the populations. I do not pretend to say that these are favourable to the present state of things, which the despotism of the red banner imposes by means of a party composed of the anarchists of all countries. But the sympathies of the people for the late (*i.e.* the Papal) Government are far from being as warm as they are supposed to be. Pius the Ninth is beloved; but the people are averse to clerical government."

On the 8th of May the French Government determined to send Lesseps as a sort of diplomatic agent, *ad latus*, to Oudinot, with the mission to smooth matters, and if possible, to persuade the Romans to open their gates to the French troops. His instructions were that the object of the French Government was to put an end to the anarchy which was devastating the States of the Church, and "to prevent the re-establishment of regular power from being made disastrous, and compromised as regards the future by a blind reaction." It was added, that "everything which, by being beforehand with the development of the intervention operated by other Powers animated by less moderate sentiments, shall have the effect of leaving a larger space to our particular and direct influence, will have the natural result of rendering the attainment of the object I have indicated to you more easy." The envoy was at the same time warned that he must be especially cautious not to utter any word, or do anything which could have the effect of making the provisional Roman Government believe, or of enabling them to lead it to be believed, that they were in any sense or way recognised as a Government by France.

In the words textually quoted above, the true motive of the French expedition, and the real aim of it, are disclosed. And the proposals made by Lesseps and Oudinot in concert on the 16th of May, for the purpose of inducing the Romans to admit the French troops, the second article of which declares that "the Roman population has the right of freely pronouncing on the form of Government it prefers," can hardly have been sincere. Had the Roman Triumvirate imagined this to be so, it is hardly to be supposed that it would have rejected the proposal, as it did.

On the 29th of May, Oudinot, having received a sufficient reinforcement, and learning, moreover, that both the Austrian

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and Neapolitan troops were advancing into the States of the Church, insisted that Lesseps should send an ultimatum to the Triumvirate. This document, besides the ordinary professions of friendship, contained the undertaking that the French, when admitted to the city, should in no wise meddle with the administration. And again it is to be remarked that this ultimatum would hardly have been rejected as it was, had the promises made in it been believed. And it would be difficult to persuade anybody that, had it been accepted, this promise would have been kept.

Lesseps, however, thought it possible to make one more attempt to come to a friendly understanding, and sent to the Triumvirate a modified ultimatum, the main point of difference in which was, that according to its provisions the French were to occupy and hold positions *outside* the walls. It was provided that "the communications were to be free." This proposal was at last agreed to by the triumvirs. But Oudinot was greatly angered with Lesseps for having made such a proposition, refused to be bound by it, and forthwith made a communication to the triumvirs to that effect. Subsequently the Lesseps proposal was disapproved also at Paris.

Meantime, the reinforcements that reached Oudinot before the end of May brought the forces under his command up to twenty thousand men, to be subsequently increased by the end of June to thirty thousand. On the 1st of June Oudinot announced that he would defer his assault till the 4th, for the sake of giving any Frenchman in Rome an opportunity of leaving the city. On the 12th, the approaches having been prepared *secundum artem*, the French general was ready for the assault. But he sent one last message to the Roman Government, inviting them to spare him the necessity of inflicting on the city the horrors of an assault. His appeal was answered curtly in the negative.

On the morning of the 13th of June the attack began. On the evening of the 21st the breach was declared to be practicable, and in the course of the night three French columns succeeded in occupying a position within the walls.

The following morning the triumvirs put forth a proclamation in the following terms: "Romans, the enemy traitorously, and by the aid of the darkness of night, has placed his foot

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upon the breach. Rise, Rome! Let the people rise in its omnipotence and scatter them! Let the breach be closed with their corpses! Whosoever touches the sacred soil of Rome in the guise of an enemy is cursed by God! Rise to combat! Rise to conquer! This day let every man become a hero!"

The bells at Montecitorio and at the Capitol were rung as tocsins.

But the Romans, as we are very amusingly told by a contemporary and thoroughly trustworthy annalist,* considered these manifestations as signs that their leaders were afraid, received them with scoffings, and showed no tendency to rise or to become heroes! On the contrary, several leading citizens went to Mazzini to urge the inutility of further resistance. Still unwilling, however, to abandon all hope, he and Avezzana, the War Minister, hurried to the Palazzo Corsini, where Garibaldi was living, and urged him to lead volunteers to the instant attack of the French within the walls. Garibaldi hesitated awhile, and then refused to do so. It must be supposed that he sufficiently saw the attempt to be hopeless.

On the morning of the 30th of June the triumvirs announced to the people that the second line of defence was lost, and made a last effort to rouse the people to rise *en masse* in defence of the city. Perceiving it to be useless, however, Mazzini went to the Assembly, and said that there were three possible courses to choose between: to capitulate, to continue to fight behind barricades in the streets, to abandon Rome—the Government and the army together—and go to the Romagna, there to fight against the Austrians. He added that he deemed the last the best! But the Assembly would accept none of these alternatives, and discovered a fourth! It declared that "it ceased from a resistance which was unavailing, and remained at its post!" This was reported to the French General, and orders for the suspension of hostilities were given by him on the evening of the 30th, and a deputation was sent to him to arrange for the regular entrance of the troops into the city. Oudinot laid down the following positions: "The French army shall enter Rome. It shall occupy the military position it deems expedient. All the communications with Rome, at present blockaded, shall be

* Coppi, "Annali d'Italia," vol. ii. p. 354.

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opened and shall be free. The arrangements for the defence of the city, having no longer any object, shall be removed, and free circulation shall be re-established." On these conditions being reported to the Assembly, that body wished to add to them a provision "securing individual liberty and property without distinction to all." To this Oudinot demurred, and said he must consult De Courcelles, who had been sent to replace Lesseps, and who, on the morning of the 2nd of July, absolutely refused to accept such a clause. And the deputies were told that, if their proposals were not accepted by three o'clock that afternoon, orders would be given for the resumption of the attack. The Communal Council, however, absolutely refused to sign the agreement as proposed. They preferred to declare that they yielded to force, and that they appealed to the people to accept the foreign occupation with resignation.

This decision was at once communicated to Oudinot, and it was agreed that the gates should be given up to the French troops at ten in the evening of that day, the 2nd of July.

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CHAPTER XX.

ESTIMATE OF THE FRENCH SUCCESS AGAINST ROME.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE POSITION OF FRANCE.—ATTITUDE ASSUMED BY THE POPE AND HIS COUNSELLORS.—PAPAL DEMANDS.—POPE MASTER OF THE SITUATION.—SOCIAL ASPECT OF ROME AT THAT TIME.—TE DEUM AT ST. PETER'S ON THE 15TH OF JULY.—SPEECH OF THE FRENCH GENERAL IN THE CHURCH.—EFFORTS OF FRANCE TO MAKE THE INTENTIONS OF THE POPE LIBERAL.—ALL LIBERAL TENDENCIES EXTINCT IN THE POPE'S MIND.—CAUSE OF THIS.—HIS CHARACTER.—CAUSES OF THE APPARENT CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF THE POPE.—NO SUCH CHANGE REALLY.—FRANCE SUSPECTED AT GAETA.—MANIFESTO OF THE POPE AFTER THE ENTRY OF THE FRENCH TROOPS.—NOMINATION OF A COMMISSION.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE POSITION OF FRANCE.—ASPECTS OF SOCIETY AT ROME.—WISHES AT THIS PERIOD OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.—NAMES OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE 31ST OF JULY.—PROCLAMATIONS BY THE COMMISSIONERS.—MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO ANTONELLI BY FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES.—NEY'S MISSION TO ROME.—NAPOLEON'S LETTER TO HIM.—HAS NO EFFECT.—DECLARATIONS OF THE POPE'S DESPOTIC INTENTIONS.—ACQUIESCENCE OF FRANCE.

MAZZINI and his colleagues, in the hopeless attempt to found a Republican Government on the ruins of the papal authority in Rome, said, in their proclamation to the Romans, that "Whoso touched, in the guise of an enemy, the sacred soil of Rome was accursed of God!" It was probably the only sentiment he could have expressed in which the Pontiff and his brethren of the Sacred College would have fully agreed with him! And in truth, both parties might point to the issue of more than one such tentative in justification of the assertion. France had succeeded in her enterprise. She had conquered the little band of enthusiasts, who, in a city divided against itself, had attempted to hold its crumbling old walls against her! The enterprise was not a difficult one; and no man, let his political sympathies be what they may, will deny that all the heroism, all the glory, was on the side of those who fought desperately and hopelessly to resist the foreign invader.

But if the military difficulties of General Oudinot were not

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great, the political difficulties of those who sent him on his inglorious enterprise were so. And they began to show themselves to be so, as soon as ever the object Oudinot had been sent to achieve had been attained. No nation ever, perhaps, found itself in so thoroughly and irremediably false a position. Had Austria marched on Rome and put down the republicans and their make-believe government by force, her course would have been straight and simple before her. She would have conveyed back the Pope in triumph to his capital; she would have sent as much of her material force as was necessary to render the will and the fiat of the Pontiff and his counsellors absolutely irresistible; and as soon as this work had been thoroughly accomplished, she would have retired. Such a restoration, so operated, the French said would be "brutal." Much suffering would have ensued, much vengeance would have been wreaked, and the Pope would have been replaced on his throne by *brute* force. The assertion of France as to the character of the work which would have been done by Austria (or possibly by Naples, in whose hands the business would assuredly have been done in a far more "brutal" manner), if she, France, had not intervened, cannot be denied; but Austria, in acting thus "brutally," would have been acting truthfully. She would have been doing what she really believed, and what all the world perfectly well knew that she believed, to be right and in accordance with the best interests of humanity, as well as in accordance with her own professions, traditions, and principles.

France did not act "brutally," but her action, her professions, her policy, were untruthful; and they were so much at variance with the position she held, and the professions she made at home, that they were scandalous.

And the difficulties, which seemed to furnish an apparent fulfilment of the curse uttered by Mazzini, began to develop themselves as soon as ever the French army found itself within the walls. Of course the triumph at Gaeta was complete—the triumph, but not the contentment! "Well, you have accomplished your task—gloriously accomplished it! There is but one step more to be made! Complete your work! Why delay?"

But France had declared before all Europe that she had gone to Rome to moderate the return from anarchy to authority—from Mazzini to Pius the Ninth—from Gaeta to Rome—*and*

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to support her own influence in Italy—the latter being the truth, the former a pretext. And France knew perfectly well that such restoration, pure, simple, and immediate, as was desired at Gaeta, would not have been effected with any of those characteristics of moderation which she had announced it as her mission to ensure.

The French Government had already been met by the first symptoms of the difficulty that awaited them in this matter of moderating the accompaniments of the papal restoration. Before the capture of Rome, the French Ambassadors had urged the Pope to publish a manifesto promising, as Farini says, a civilized and humane, if not a liberal Government; but his Holiness had replied, that respect for his own dignity and authority would not permit him to announce determinations the merit of which might be attributed by the world to the foreigners who had counselled him and assisted him, and that he could publish no manifesto to the people till the French should have fully restored his government in Rome. Such a publication, his Holiness urged, "would appear not the spontaneous act of a free and independent sovereign, but rather a bargain imposed on him by his protectors. Let them complete the work, and he would then talk about it! Let them cause to disappear, as it was indeed high time, all the traces of the revolution! Let them truly restore the rule of the Pope, and then the Pope would take such steps as would become a Pope!" Much indignation began to be felt at Gaeta because the French, since they had made themselves masters of Rome in the interests of the Pope, did not at once, and without delay, proceed to replace the Papal Government in the full enjoyment of its rights—did not instantly, and with public solemnity, re-install in their places all the servants of the Apostolic Government, and all the armorial escutcheons and other such visible signs of supremacy.

Since, however, as Farini remarks, the French had been led by their own errors into the necessity of either doing violence to the sovereignty of the Pope for the sake of pleasing the people and caring for their own dignity, or of causing the affliction of the people and injuring their own reputation for the sake of being agreeable to the Pope, the final triumph of the Court at Gaeta was perfectly certain.

In Rome, no illusion seems to have been cherished on this

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head after the entry of the French into the city. A severe censorship, which permitted the expression of no liberal views or aspirations, was established. The picture of the social aspect of Rome at that time given by the historian I have so frequently quoted, Farini, is remarkable: "Priests and friars and their supporters were continually going about in quest of adhesions, and it was bad for those who expressed any liberal aspirations. French generals and commissaries seemed like *cavalieri serventi* of the priests. At sight of a cossack, of a prelate's mantle, of a cowl, they fell into ecstasies of delight, and went off into compliments and caresses without end!"

There was a *Te Deum* at St. Peter's; and a sufficiently singular and notable ceremonial it must have been. It was on the 15th of July. The artillery—the same artillery which had so recently been used to batter down the walls of Rome and the defenders of them—was firing salvoes of joy. The bells—those same bells which had so recently with despairing clang called the citizens to the breach—were ringing out festive peals. All the troops were marched to St. Peter's; generals, colonels, ambassadors were swarming there. And Cardinal Castracani intoned the hymn of praise and thanksgiving. Then Cardinal Tosti preached a sermon addressed to General Oudinot—to the liberator of Rome, who had saved it from the horrors of war, and purged it of monsters who were a disgrace to the human race. Admiration for his beneficent acts was mingled, said the Cardinal, with the tears of all good men for *the French blood which had been shed!*

Then Oudinot, in the church, got up and spoke!—a regular parliament, as Farini says, in open church! Words of course. Not to him, but to France, the merit of the enterprise! To Providence must be ascribed the victory which had liberated Rome from *foreign yoke* (!) and restored the temporal government of the Pope amid the applause of the whole Catholic world. Then the Cardinal replied that the words of the General were dictated by the Spirit of God, who would bless him and France!

It must be owned that the strange and monstrous spectacle of Voltairian France thus turned crusader for the suppression of those liberties at Rome which she had just plunged into revolution to secure for herself, was a sight as revolting to every

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sentiment of truthfulness, honour, and justice, as was ever presented to the world. And the French Government was by no means insensible to the odiousness of the position it had assumed. France would fain, had it been possible, have attained the real object of her conduct, without disjoining it from that which she had so loudly declared to be her purpose. France was now striving hard to attain this; but it was difficult. She would fain have had Pius the Ninth returned to Rome and inaugurate a Liberal, or at least a Liberalising Government under her own tutelage. But this did not in any degree suit the views of Pius the Ninth; his Liberalism, which had never been of a calibre calculated to fall in with the ideas of French republicans, had now entirely disappeared. And it did not at all suit his feelings of Italian patriotism (which, despite all that had come and gone, he was by no means without), and still less his notions of his own papal dignity and authority, to submit to any such tutelage.

His Liberalism had vanished, never more to return. But it is not, I think, just to attribute this, as it has very generally been attributed, altogether to alarm and to that ill-temper which arises—and with especial force in the case of a weak and vain man—from hurt feelings, from disappointment in his attempts to be beneficent, and from what represented itself to his mind as the "ingratitude" of his subjects. Doubtless all these causes contributed somewhat to that sudden and very violent change in the man and in his tendencies and conduct, which has ever since been a subject of astonishment and interest to the world. But the main cause of this remarkable change, of this return on his steps and eager advance in the opposite direction, is to be found in the fact that he had discovered something of which he was before ignorant. He had ascended to the throne with the intention of being a Liberal Pope. What it was to be a Pope he understood with sufficient accuracy. But he was almost wholly ignorant of what it was to be Liberal. He had now discovered the incompatibility of the two things. And as soon as ever that discovery was made, no shade of doubt or hesitation remained in his mind. There has been no such extraordinary change in the man as the world has wondered at. Nor was there any inconsistency in the beneficent intentions with which he mounted the throne. They were alloyed—and what human

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virtue is unalloyed!—by an inordinate craving for applause and admiration, but they were benevolent and sincere. Only they were nourished under a mistake. And the mistake was now discovered! The same discovery would have produced the same result at any moment of his career. He had told his subjects, as has been seen, at the outset of his reign that he intended to hand down the papal power to his successor intact as he had received it from his predecessors. And this intention was the paramount, the ruling, the one unalterable intention of the man's inmost heart and conscience. Not even for the applause of men would he forego or knowingly endanger that!

The subjects of the Apostolic See are grievously suffering, terribly misgoverned. He is willing to make any change, to do anything—that shall not touch the sacred ark. But the Church itself is endangered. Modifications are absolutely necessary to enable it to continue to exist in the world. *Deus providebit!* But some politic concessions—? *Non possumus!*

An absolutely sincere *non possumus!* He had found out what these suggestions of the world were to lead to. And no consideration could or should induce him ever again to advance one step on *that* path! He had smelt the blood of a slaughtered Church within the shambles to which they were driving him, and no driving could any more urge him to advance a step in *that* direction! *Non possumus!*

The reputation of France, too, added to the difficulty of the task she had set herself. Rome did not much like or trust her protector. She would far rather have been assisted and restored by Austria, or even by Naples. And for the nonce, and for the immediately coming years, Austria would have been the more convenient and thorough-going friend. But looking farther ahead, it will still be to the eldest son of the Church that the Church in her oldest age will turn. France will want a Pope, though maybe one of her own making, when the time shall have come that Austria will want none.

And France wanted a Pope of her own now! She did not want a very Liberal one either. Frenchmen were one thing, Romans quite another. But she wanted such a show of Liberalism as would have permitted her to cloak before the eyes of Europe the nakedness of her invasion with some rag of the veil she had provided for that purpose. And the Pope would not help her

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in this! If he would pretend a little Liberalism? The Church never hesitates to pretend for a holy purpose! But Pius did not trust his friends sufficiently to accommodate them in this respect. It is towards the shambles that you are driving me! *Non possumus!*

Shortly after the entry of the French troops the Pope published the following manifesto:—

"Pius the Ninth to his well-loved subjects. God has lifted up His arm and has commanded the tempestuous sea of anarchy and impiety to be at rest! He has led Catholic arms to sustain the rights of trampled humanity, of the Faith attacked, and those of the Holy See and of our sovereignty. Eternal praise be to Him who in the midst of His wrath does not forget mercy. Well-beloved subjects, if in the vortex of the tremendous events which have happened, our heart has been saturated with sorrow at the thought of so many evils suffered by the Church, by religion and by yourselves, not for that has the affection which has always loved and continued to love you been diminished. We eagerly look forward to the day which shall bring us once again among you. And when it shall have arrived, we shall return to you with the earnest desire to bring you comfort, and with the wish to occupy ourselves to the utmost of our power for your welfare, applying difficult remedies to exceedingly great evils, and consoling good subjects, who, while they look for such institutions as shall meet their needs, desire, as we desire, to see the liberty and independence of the supreme Pontiff, which is so necessary to the tranquillity of the Catholic world, guaranteed. In the meantime, for the re-ordering of public affairs, we proceed to name a Commission, which, furnished with full powers and assisted by a Ministry, shall regulate the government of the State. That benediction of the Lord, which we have ever, even when far from you, implored for you, we this day invoke with even increased fervour; and it is a great comfort to our heart to hope that all those who have chosen to render themselves incapable of enjoying the fruit of this blessing by their misguided conduct, may make themselves deserving of it by a sincere and consistent repentance."

The French had been anxious for the Pope to speak. He

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had now spoken, but his utterance contained nothing of what they wanted to hear. There was no word as to the nature and form of government which he intended to adopt. There was only a very unmistakable hint that he should be glad to be quit of their tutelage and surveillance. Nor, as Farini remarks, could the result of the French policy have been other than it was. "Nor," he writes, "with all the boasting they had made, and continue to make (respecting the Liberalising influence they should exercise over the restored Pope), boasting which took a much stronger tone at Paris than that which it took at Rome, and much stronger at Rome than that which it took at Gaeta, could they hope that the Pope would allow himself to be conducted to Rome without much greater guarantees for his own independence and power, to their own greater humiliation, or would return thither as long as they gave any indication of an intention to protect him after their fashion and dictate to him."

In short, the little Court at Gaeta perceived clearly enough that the insincerity of France had had the effect of making it the master of the situation. France had declared that she had taken Rome from the Romans to restore it to its legitimate sovereign, the Pope. She could not in the face of Europe avoid so restoring it. She could not, for very shame, even if it would have suited her own views to do so, which of course it would not, give the city back into the hands of the revolutionaries. And the Pope and his counsellors had only to hold off, practise a masterly inactivity, and bide their time, in order to return unconditionally, and work their own will in the Eternal City.

The position of the French in the meantime was not a pleasant or a dignified one at Rome. Here is the curious account which Farini gives of the social condition and aspects of Rome at that period.

"The Romans," he said, "took little heed of the manifesto, and continued to treat the French with hatred and contempt. For though they had all the force of the army in their hands, and full power over the citizens, who were deprived of every liberty, and though the clergy were swelling with pride and honours of all sorts, nevertheless continual injuries and violences were committed at Rome against both the priests and the

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French soldiers, and the temper of the city was very bad towards both the one and the other. So much was this the case, that you might hear in the streets the same bitter abuse against the clergy, and against the Pope and Cardinals, that might have been heard at the high tide of the Mazzinian rule; and the copies of the Papal manifesto were torn down and defiled, and the French officers met no face that was not bitter and hostile. In the streets they were alone; alone at the theatres; alone in every place of public resort. Not a salutation, not a hand was offered to them. The very men who paid court to them in private, did not dare to show any courtesy to them in public. Any one who did so was pointed at. Any woman who looked at any one of them otherwise than sternly, was run down without mercy. They suffered much from all this. But inasmuch as the discipline of the army was complete, and many of the officers and soldiers sufficiently civilized to understand the reasons that caused this treatment, they supported in peace things against which soldiers ordinarily are quick to rebel. And while the generals and superior officers attributed the hostility of the people to the perfidy of the revolutionists, and considered themselves to have deserved the gratitude of the Romans for the enterprise they had taken in hand, those in the lower ranks of the army deemed that the enterprise needed an excuse. The former affected ostentatious devotion towards the priests; the latter expressed their contempt for them. It occurred frequently that when in the streets some insult was offered to some prelate or priest in the sight of French subalterns or soldiers, the latter, instead of taking the part of the insulted ecclesiastic, joined noisily in the laugh against him. And it was common to hear them in the cafés and streets loud in their abuse of the Clerical Government and in insults to the clergy. And on the other hand, the clergy, who were conscious of all this, and who lived in constant suspicion of the opinions and conduct of the French, grumbled at them in devout circles, and were pleased that the people thus felt ill-will against their own allies and defenders."

It is to be observed that this remarkable and certainly truthful picture of the social condition of Rome at the time of the French occupation, sufficiently disposes of the official talk—perhaps the official delusion—that those who were opposed to

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the Papal Government were "a few factious men," "strangers from other countries and cities," "a sect of anarchists," and the like. The body of the population, the vast majority of the people, almost all who were not bound to the Church and the Court by ties of interest, saw with unconquerable and unconcealed dislike the restoration of Clerical Government. It is true that a comparatively small number of the citizens was willing to follow Mazzini to the logical consequences of their own doctrines, and much less to those of his political and social doctrines. At the time of the elevation of Pius the Ninth, they had been as ignorant as he as to the absolute impossibility of the Liberal Papacy which he and they had both hoped to realize. The Pope had by this time found out the truth. The people had only partially found it out. They were not sure that such a scheme was utterly and for ever impossible. Consequently they were not sure and concordant as to their wishes. If the *sint ut sunt* necessity could have been at once clearly expounded to them; if they had been made to understand that the only alternative before them was the utter destruction of the papal temporal power, whether in favour of a republic, or a confederation, or a monarchy of united Italy on the one hand, and the restoration of the Clerical Government, *pur et simple*, on the other hand, there would have been no hesitation in making the choice. At all events, they have now attained the same amount of knowledge and certainty of conviction upon this point that Pius the Ninth has!

"On the 31st of July, the Commission named by the Holy Father in accordance with the manifesto, which has been cited *in extenso*, arrived in Rome. It consisted of the Cardinals Della Genga, Vannicelli, and Altieri. They immediately published a proclamation, in which it was promised that "the Holy Father was occupying his truly beneficent mind with providing those ameliorations and those institutions which may be compatible with his dignity, with the supreme power of the Pontiff, with the nature of this State, the conservation of which interests the entire Catholic world, and with the real necessities of his well-beloved subjects."

Their Eminences, and the Pontiff, in whose name they were speaking, cannot be accused of attempting to deceive the people whose allegiance they were claiming. Few restored sove-

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reigns have ever returned to their thrones with promises more accurately in accordance with their real intentions!

On the 3rd of August another proclamation was issued, nullifying all the acts of the recent Government; and on the following day another, setting forth that, although the proclamation of the preceding day would, if unmodified, have the effect of rendering worthless all the paper money which had been issued by the late pretended Government, the Holy Father, taking into consideration that such a result would cause the ruin of many families, especially of the poorer sort, had decreed that such notes should have currency at the rate of sixty-five per cent. of their nominal value.

France, finding the disagreeable nature of her position, began to be urgent with the Holy Father to take some of the steps which might serve to justify her intervention, and prove the liberalising influence of her counsels. The French diplomatists —there were two of them, De Courcelles and De Reyneval— on the 19th of August presented a memorandum to Antonelli setting forth the views of France, and what she desired of the Pope, "the articles of the Statuto confirmed anew; elected Assemblies for the provinces and communes; secularisation of the administration!" and other small matters of the like kind. Was the French Government really so little informed of the circumstances of the case, and of the minds of the Pope and his counsellors, as to imagine that there was any chance that such demands should be accorded? Or was she merely acting a comedy for the benefit of Europe, and saying the appropriate thing to be said in the *rôle* which she had assumed? At all events, Antonelli must have smiled grimly to himself as he put the text of the memorandum into his pigeon-hole!

Then the French Napoleon of the day had sent Colonel Ney to Rome to see if he could expedite matters, and wrote to him pointing out that France had never sent her soldiers to Rome except under the idea that the Pope would do as he was bid in the matter of Liberal institutions, and how sorry he was that the army of occupation did not find its quarters so pleasant as could be wished. "I have heard with much pain that even in respect of its physical comforts the army has not been treated as it deserves. I trust that a stop will be put to such a state of things. Nothing ought to be spared for the due and fitting

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lodgment of our troops." Since it was so important that they should make themselves comfortable, it would seem that there was small chance of their going away very soon! Ney went to the office of the *Official Gazette* to insist that Napoleon's letter should be printed in its columns. Finding that it did not appear, he returned on the 14th of September accompanied by General Rostolan, who had replaced Oudinot, to insist afresh on its publication. "They demanded and insisted energetically," says the editor (who chanced to be that same Coppi, who afterwards published the very valuable annals from which I quote), "but the Cardinals of the governing Commission objected to the publication; and—it was not published. Indeed the letter did not produce any effect, or have any consequence!"

The incident is only worth mentioning as a very significant, if small, indication of the position assumed by the Pope and his adherents, towards their much-mistrusted friends.

On the 31st of August Antonelli replied to the memorandum of the French diplomatists by a note in which he speaks of the intention of the Holy Father to give his subjects such institutions as, having regard to anything that might become a pretext for the return of disorder, are *not inconsistent with the nature of the Pontifical Government.* "The basis of these institutions," says the Secretary, "are such, as while they assure all fitting liberty (*convenienti libertà*) to the subjects of the Holy See, assure also at the same time the liberty and independence of the Head of the Church, which it is obligatory on him to preserve intact in face of the Universe."

And a few days later, on the 12th of September, the Pope promulgated a decree, which in fact replaces the foundations of governmental authority on the basis on which they rested in the time of Gregory the Sixteenth.

If it is to be believed that the French Government had, previously to this, laboured under any illusion as to the intentions of the Holy Father with regard to the spirit of the government he proposed to institute on his restoration, it would be childish to suppose that they could have continued to entertain such subsequently to this declaration.

On the 18th of September the Holy Father published an amnesty; but it was so heavily loaded with restrictions and

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exceptions, that any good effect as a means of conciliating the affections of the people was entirely destroyed.

The French Government wrote to their representatives that these declarations of the Holy Father and his Ministers filled them with "dolorous surprise!" But in the French Chamber the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 17th of October told the Deputies that "it had never been the intention of the French Government to abuse the force of which it disposed for the constraining of the will of the Holy Father." And the conduct of the Government was, after a three days' debate, approved by a vote of 469 against 180. It became tolerably clear that the Pope, as regarded his subjects, would be allowed to act as it might seem good to him. But it was not by any means clear when they and he would be liberated from his "liberators."

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE POPE THINKS OF RETURNING TO ROME.—LEAVES GAETA.—SOJOURNS AT PORTICI.—HIS EXCURSION TO NAPLES.—FAVOURABLE RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE.—THE POPE LEAVES PORTICI.—PARTING WITH THE KING OF NAPLES.—THE POPE'S BLESSING.—ARRIVAL AT ROME.—CONSISTORY OF THE 20TH OF APRIL.—ENGLISH CATHOLIC EPISCOPACY.—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—RETURN TO DESPOTISM.—WHY PRIESTS ARE NECESSARILY UNFORGIVING.—PERSECUTION.—PUNISHMENT OF THE DISAFFECTED.

IT having become sufficiently clear that whatever memorandum the French diplomatists might hand to the Papal Government—that is to Antonelli—might without any danger be consigned to the waste-paper basket; that no amount of "dolorous surprise" that might be felt by the French Government was in the least likely to move them to any active interference with the Holy Father's carrying on his own government in his own fashion, and that even imperial letters to "my dear Ney" might safely be treated by the editor of the *Official Gazette* as editors are wont to treat troublesome and unwelcome correspondence—all this, I say, having been made sufficiently manifest and unmistakable, the Pontiff thought that the time was come when he might venture to leave his refuge at Gaeta.

He did so on the 4th of September, after having resided there nine months and nine days. And the contrast between the circumstances which attended his departure and those which had characterised his arrival there, was such as to emphasize the change which had taken place in the fortunes of the Papacy.

Attended by the King and Queen of Naples, by five Cardinals, and by a brilliant suite, he embarked on board a Neapolitan steamer, which was followed by two other vessels carrying the same flag, by two Spanish ships, and one French one. And in the afternoon of the same day he reached

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Portici, where the royal palace had been prepared for his reception. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of reverence and affection with which he was received by all classes of the population. He made several excursions to Naples, and on the 6th of September celebrated Mass in the Cathedral there. On the 9th he imparted his solemn benediction to the Neapolitan troops from the balcony of the royal palace in Naples. On the 16th he did the same for the people, and it was calculated that fifty thousand persons were present in the vast piazza in front of the palace. Afterwards he visited many of the churches of the city and a variety of public entertainments, and was everywhere received after the fashion so dear to his eyes and ears!

No doubt it was true, as he complains in his addresses and proclamations, that his heart had been saddened by the defection of his subjects, and the loss of their affection. No doubt his ears missed painfully the tribute of thundering applause to which he had been accustomed. But now he was emerging from his eclipse, the incense of flattery and the music of applause was once again offered to him; and though it was to be of a different sort and quality from that on which he had hitherto feasted, it was never more to fail him! A journal was published at Naples during his stay in the neighbourhood, for the express purpose of chronicling his doings and the festivities and rejoicings that were organised in his honour. From the 30th of October to the 2nd of November, the Pope was occupied in a little excursion to the mountain-enclosed ancient little city of Benevento, which with a small amount of territory around it, forms a portion of the Apostolic dominions, though it is surrounded on all sides by Neapolitan territory.

Pius the Ninth remained all the winter at Portici, not quitting it till the beginning of April, 1850, to return at length to Rome. The night of the 4th he passed at Caserta, and that of the 5th at Sessa. The next day Ferdinand the Second accompanied him as far as the frontier of the kingdom of Naples. There the monarch descended from his carriage, kneeled before the Pontiff, kissed his feet, and asked for his benediction. The Pope said: "I bless you! I bless your family! I bless your kingdom! I bless your people! I know not how to express to you my gratitude for the hospitality you have given me!" "I have but

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done the duty of a Christian!" said the King. "Your filial affection," returned the Pontiff, "has been great and sincere!" And there can be no doubt that Pius spoke his thanks and blessings in all the sincerity of his heart. But the Neapolitans might well conceive that the upshot irresistibly proved the truth of the well-known and wide-spread superstition to the effect that Pius the Ninth has "the evil eye," which brings ill-luck to all it looks on. For never surely was so emphatic a blessing so signally followed by the exact reverse of all the Pontiff prayed Heaven to grant!

The same evening Pius arrived at Terracina, where he remained two days. On the 9th he went to Frosinone, on the 10th to Velletri, and on the 12th of April he made his solemn, and surely his triumphal, entry into Rome. Eight Cardinals accompanied him, as well as the whole body of foreign diplomatists, and he was received with very general acclamations.

On the 20th the Pope held a Consistory, in which he pronounced a discourse, solemnly thanking by name and severally all the Powers which had assisted him to suppress the rebellion in his States, and had enabled him to return to his throne. He especially called attention to the fact that even the non-Catholic Powers had contributed to the maintenance of his authority, wherein we are specially called upon to admire that divine Providence which has for so many ages destined a place in which the Supreme Pontiff may freely exercise the authority which God has committed to him.

The first public act, however, which he did after his return, was to erect a Catholic archbishopric at Westminster, with twelve suffragan bishops named from the principal cities of the kingdom—a measure which gave rise to the celebrated Catholic Titles Bill, passed the following year, and instantly allowed to become obsolete.

A variety of arrangements and appointments were made in conformity with the statement of the Holy Father's intentions, which had been put forth by Cardinal Antonelli: On the 10th of September, a "Council of State" and a "Ministry;" on the 28th of October a board of finance; on the 22nd of November a scheme for provincial administration; and on the 24th, another for the communes. But all this was absolutely valueless, and, if not intended to throw dust into the eyes of the Romans

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—which it by no means succeeded in doing—was mere puerile juggling with names. All the councilmen, the deputies, the commissioners, the ministers, and by whatsoever other names they may have been called, were every man of them selected by the Holy Father. All authority and power remained in his hands, and his government was as perfect a despotism as that of any of his predecessors had been, and as a papal government must needs be.

And it was in accordance with the general current of the times that such should have been the case at Rome. The immense wave of popular uprising which had passed over Europe in 1848 and the following years had subsided, and, as was to be expected, the severity of despotism which succeeded in each country was very accurately proportioned to the degree of violence which had characterised the popular movement which had preceded it. The "repression" in the Papal States was severe.

It is an old reproach against the ecclesiastical caste that priests never forgive; but it must be remembered that what a priest is called on to forgive (under circumstances which demand from another man forgiveness for opposition to his claims, his status, the amount of his power) is an attempt against his existence; while at the same time he is justified in believing, if he be a true priest, that his existence is of all things the most necessary to the welfare of mankind. The absolute verity of the *sint ut sunt* must be taken into consideration. The Pope had by this time learned the conditions of his own existence: "He who talks of reforming me means to abolish me; or whether he means it or not, that is what his efforts tend to. And this abolition of me is felony against the human race—the most pernicious and deadliest sin and wickedness which a human creature can compass!" Our faith is mostly so nebulous, our belief in doctrines professed such half-belief, that we are apt to undervalue the cogency of the conclusions to which a Pope who is not a conscious impostor must be, logically enough, driven in considering these matters. "On me alone, and on the maintenance of me in my position, depends the eternal happiness or misery of untold myriads of human beings throughout tens of generations yet unborn! Shall talk about the constitutional liberty of a few thousands of

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Italians—shall the question of a score or so of lives more or less saved from the gallows or forfeited to it, weigh for an instant, even as dust in the balance, against the necessity of removing the most remotely-threatening danger to me and my ministry!"

The argument is cogent, and the conclusion inevitable; and this should be borne in mind when we censure the persecutions which the Church has practised. She is fully justified in persecuting to the utmost extent to which the world is fool enough to allow her to do so. She is driven from her position into quibbling and false facts and false arguments only when she attempts to deny the principle on which she persecutes. No other person, or sect, or authority should persecute for opinion's sake, however strongly they may hold their opinion, or however important they deem it; but the Church *should* do so. Why? and what is the difference? None other but that the Church holds theoretically that it is absolutely sure, by means above those attainable by other human beings, that her opinions are true. The Church is *sure* of the truth of her doctrine, *sure* of the consequences of allowing it to be attacked. In such a case, the suppression of a spreader of false doctrine, even though by such means as a mad dog is suppressed, is an absolute and indeclinable duty. If we do not like this, the priest must be abolished or restrained.

This pontifical duty Pius had learned the necessity of, and was now minded to do, nothing doubting. There can be no question of the entire sincerity of his faith; the fibre of his intellect is not sufficiently masculine to be afflicted by doubt. Of too concrete and objective a nature to exercise his intelligence much on qualities and the nature of attributes, he believes facts and statements on what appears to him to be good evidence, and acts in accordance with his belief.

Considerable persecution, accordingly, was exercised during the years which succeeded the Pope's restoration to power against those who were deemed dangerous to it. Vengeance is declared by the chroniclers of the time to have remorselessly pursued those who had shown themselves to be enemies to the papal system; but it must be remembered that those who had done so were the same persons who were still dangerous. I think that any person of whom it could have been believed that

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he was genuinely resipiscent, would have been received with open arms by the Ecclesiastical Government, and this from motives of policy. I do not think that Pius the Ninth is a tender-hearted man in such sort that sufferings inflicted on his enemies out of his sight would be heavy at his heart. It would have delighted him at any time to pardon a repentant and imploring culprit in the midst of a hemicycle of admiring eyes, especially if the object of his clemency kneeled in an effective attitude; and he would have looked as admirably melodramatic as a representative of God-like clemency in person as it is possible for sculptor or painter to conceive. But the admiring eyes must be there!

These were, as I take it, the considerations, and this is the temper of mind, in which the punishments for the past were inflicted, and the precautions for the future taken, during those years. And having said thus much, it does not seem to be worth while to detail the different cases in which punishments of death, imprisonment, or exile were inflicted on the "Liberals" in Rome and in the provinces.* They were as many as the Ecclesiastical Government thought necessary to make themselves safe; I do not think they were more.

* The several cases may be found registered in the work of the Cavaliere Achille Gennarelli, entitled "Il Governo Pontificio e lo Stato Romano." Prato, 1860.

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CHAPTER XXII.

CONDITION OF ROME AFTER THE RETURN OF THE POPE.—HATRED OF HIS SUBJECTS.—ISOLATION OF THE POPE.—BAFFLED IN HIS HOPE OF BEING A GREAT KING, HE TURNS HIS AMBITION TO BECOMING A GREAT POPE.—THE POLICY OF THE CHURCH IN DEVISING NEW "RELIGIONS."—SINCERITY OF PIUS THE NINTH'S BELIEF.—HIS MOTIVES FOR DECREEING A NEW DOGMA IN RESPECT TO THE VIRGIN.—IN WHAT SENSE THE DOGMA WAS NEW.—OPPORTUNENESS OF THE DEFINITION OF IT.—NO ADDITIONAL BURTHEN TO THE CONSCIENCES OF BELIEVERS.—PREPARATION FOR TAKING THE STEP OF THE "DEFINITION."—ASSEMBLY OF DIGNITARIES IN ROME.—THE CEREMONY OF THE DEFINITION AT ST. PETER'S.—FESTIVITIES.—SINGULAR PRESENT TO THE POPE FROM FRANCE.

LIFE at Rome had fallen back, in the years which immediately followed the return of the Pope, to a condition very similar to that which it had been accustomed to under Gregory the Sixteenth. Order reigned in the eternal city; but it was order tempered by continual more or less overt, more or less dangerous, conspiracy. The hopes of the Liberals, of the Giovine Italia, of "the sectarians," of "the revolution," as the clerical and retrograde party loved to call them, were not extinguished, not killed, but only scotched. And the attitude and acknowledged hopes of Sardinia kept these aspirations alive, in a great degree supplied the means of fostering them, and in some degree of furnishing, more or less indirectly, the means of carrying them into the sphere of action. The police were continually, even feverishly, on the alert in Rome, and rigorous repression was the order of the day.

It was dreary work and a dreary life for the Pontiff! He was hated in the city, the loving admiration of which he had so earnestly desired. And he well knew himself to be hated. And the pain which his nature was calculated to suffer from this consciousness was embittered by a sense of the ingratitude of those who hated him. He had wished and intended to be so beneficent!

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The violence of the hatred with which the Pope was now regarded by all Italians, and by his own Romans most of all, was as unreasonably excessive as the love and admiration they had in the early days of his pontificate expressed for him. And it was far more genuine! But if this hatred appears to have been unreasonably excessive to an impartial outside spectator of the drama, what must it have appeared to the Pope from his point of view! Why did they hate him? Because he would not be killed and abolished; because he would not betray what he held to be a sacred trust; because he strove to uphold the institutions which he in his inmost conscience deemed to be of all conceivable things by very much the most vitally important to the well-being of mankind; not which he believed to be such, seeing the possibility, even ever so faint an one, that the opinion of others who thought differently *might* be right, but which he *knew* to be such with a knowledge which admitted of no shade of doubt, or pause, or misgiving! It must have been very bitter to such a man as Pius the Ninth!

Gradually—and not very gradually either—he found that he and his stood alone; that *every* man's heart, if only as yet the hands of the more enterprising and violent, was against him. The gulf between the Church and the world was widening, and becoming more evident, more phenomenal, and more avowed from day to day. There he sat, in his apostolic palace, a man forbid!—he to whom the applause of mankind was as the breath of his nostrils! A barrier of desolation, like that which physically interposes its melancholy desert between his own city and the rest of the world, was isolating him from the sympathies of mankind!

But he had still his own—the faithful few, the men of his own caste, his brethren in the hate of the world—the Church! Upon them, and upon the Church, all his sympathies were thrown back. In that world he might still find—well, not, perhaps, affection; priests do not for the most part much feel or need affection, and Pius the Ninth as little as any—but applause, admiration, reverence, and flattery in such abundance, such seas and rolling waves of flattery ever beating with sweetest music on the foot of his throne, as never monarch enjoyed before!

He had hoped to be a beloved and beneficent monarch. That

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dream was over! The wicked world would not accept him. The times were out of joint. His attempt had been made; his failure signal, immense! There remained the other aspect of his two-fold character. If he could not be a great king, it was still open to him to be a great Pope! To that ambition he now turned himself. In that, time and the hour, and the tenacious vitality of the Mastai blood assisting, he has been more successful.

It was necessary to him to do something—something that should place him once more *en evidence* before the world, and should replace him at least in some degree on a pedestal, which if not quite so high an one as that from which he had been so miserably thrust, should be at least safer, and more sure of the ungrudging homage of that public to which it would appeal. The nature of the something to be done must be such as would strike the imagination (always, of course. bearing in mind the special public which was to be addressed), should be of interest "*urbi et orbi*," and should be capable of assuming a visible and material existence in the daily lives of those who constituted the public in question.

Nothing could have been found better fitted to answer all the purposes it was intended to serve than the scheme to which the Holy Father put his hand at the close of the year 1854.

The wisdom of the rulers of the Catholic Church as regards matters material, and its unwisdom as regards matters spiritual, so notably evidenced by many pages of its history, is in nothing more conspicuously seen than in its efforts to secure for its flocks new objects of devotion, new "religions," as these play-things are termed in the languages of Latin origin, and the marked propensity of the male portion of the populations of Latin race to worship a female, in preference to a male, idol, renders a new superstition connected with the Virgin Mary the most effective invention that could be imagined.

And to Pius the Ninth it was especially of importance that his new religion should be effective! Not that it is to be supposed that he was, or is, otherwise than entirely sincere in the matter. But the inmost nature of the man seeks and turns to that which is effective, theatrical, some *idolon* capable of decorous presentation to the multitude. There is no reason to doubt that Pius the Ninth really does believe (that is,

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assumes as a certain truth in nowise needing examination or thinking about)' that the being he has always heard spoken of as the Virgin Mary really was miraculously born without any share in that inheritance of sinfulness which is, according to the theory of the universal Church, derived from the disobedience of Eve to every other human being, with the one exception of her Son, our Saviour; further, that it would be a good and laudable thing, useful to the interests of the Church, and of mankind, that this fact should be authoritatively and officially recognised by the Church; that to do this would be especially gratifying to the same Virgin Mary, eternally existing in heaven, with a nature and sentiments calculated to be pleased by such recognition, and would be likely to induce her to cause blessings and advantages of various kinds to be bestowed on all who should contribute to procure for her this pleasure, in a degree to which she would not be disposed to extend her benevolence otherwise; and lastly, that for him to be the principal means of securing these advantages to religion, to the Church, to mankind, and to the Virgin Mary herself, would, while assuring to him a vast amount of immediate admiration, applause, and opportunity for display, shed a halo of immortal glory over his Papacy. There was of course much that was of the earth earthy in the latter clauses of the considerations thus set forth. But it would be exceedingly unjust—it would be judging Pius by a standard which we cannot hope or pretend to apply in judging of the greatest of our species—to maintain or insinuate that the foibles which thus mingled themselves with his motives invalidated or even detracted from the force and cogency of the higher considerations which guided him. And it must be admitted that a Pope, holding the opinions which have been above rehearsed, acted rightly and well in "defining the dogma" of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

For it must be understood—of course by all Catholics *is* understood—that the present Pontiff in nowise invented this doctrine. It was a very ancient and wide-spread notion in the Church, as may be seen set forth at great length in the abundantly learned work of the Jesuit Passaglia, in three quarto volumes, published by the College of the Propaganda. And the action of the present Pontiff limited itself to issuing an

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authoritative declaration of the truthfulness and accuracy of this notion, and a decree making it imperative and obligatory on all persons to believe it to have been, and to be so, on pain of incurring all those penalties which are attached to the wilful rejection of any other portion of the doctrines of the Church.

But if this doctrine had been for many generations and centuries extensively held in the Church, and if all the good things above set forth were to be got by the authoritative establishment of it in the manner adopted by Pius the Ninth, why, it may be asked, was it left for him and for the middle of the nineteenth century to accomplish this work? To which it may be replied, in the first place, that previously to the definition of the doctrine by Pius, no Pope and no other man was obliged to believe it on pain of imperfection in his orthodoxy. And it may well be that many generations have elapsed since a Pope has sat in St. Peter's seat endowed with a capacity to believe it. In the second place, it does not follow that if a Pope speculatively believe this doctrine to be true, it was therefore incumbent on him to impose it as a necessary article of faith on the Church. And the question whether it was desirable and for the interest of the Church so to do, would depend on many and various considerations connected with the condition of the Church, of the world, and of men's minds at the time being. It has been very much questioned, looking at the matter from the stand-point of an outsider, and putting aside all reference to the intrinsic value and credibility of the doctrine, whether now the promulgation of the doctrine as an obligatory article of faith was in the interests of the Church a prudent step or otherwise. It was probably a wise one. Those who think otherwise, object that the loading of consciences with *additional* burthens will cause some, who cannot endure them, to leave the Church. But this notion of *addition* seems to be an erroneous one, based on the imperfect applicability of a metaphor. To believe anything in contradiction to the best exercise of the reasoning faculties of which the individual is capable on the authority of another is a *burthen* pleasant to some minds, easy to many, difficult to a few, and to a yet smaller number impossible. But to believe two statements—or ten—regarding subjects of the same sort, instead of one only, is no additional difficulty. In fact,

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be the articles of belief as many and as contradictory to the ordinary intelligence as they may, the proposition which the faithful have to accede to is one only. It is more probable that that which I—the Church—tell you is true, should be the truth, than that the conclusions arrived at by your own mental powers should be so. No disciples, therefore, will be lost by the imposition of the new article of faith. Those who might be supposed losable by it, are lost already. In the ages when *quieta non movere* was the best wisdom of the Church, when the conformity of the world sat lightly on it, because thinking was rare, it would have been imprudent to risk awakening sleeping doubts by the startling trumpet proclamation of a new thing to be believed. But now when the world is far more accurately and exhaustively divided into believers and unbelievers, there is no danger of injuring the robust faith of the former; while, on the other hand, the stimulus supplied to their emotional activity, the invention of something new to *do*, the amusement of new associations, new confraternities, and new formulæ of devotion, are well calculated to stir their zeal. For the rest, it is the interest of the Church at the present day to make high and visible the hurdles that separate the sheep from the goats. There are very many practical infidels who are such by reason of the operation of their hearts, not of their heads, who may be frightened into the right fold by an unmistakable manifestation of the fact that they are at present in the wrong one.

For which reason it seems to me at least very questionable whether Pius the Ninth was not well advised, assuming, as there is no reason to doubt, that he is sincere in his own belief in taking the step which he took on the 8th of December, 1854.

As early as the 2nd of February, 1849, he had sent forth circulars from Gaeta to all the Bishops of the Catholic world, asking them what they themselves thought of the doctrine in question, how far their flocks were disposed to devotion to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and what were their own wishes and ideas as to the definition of it (*i.e.*, such a pontifical declaration as should make it thenceforth an obligatory article of faith), and as to giving the greatest possible solemnity to the act of the Pontiff in defining it.

More than five hundred Bishops—that is, nearly all those of

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the Catholic world—replied, declaring* their own very special devotion to the Immaculate Virgin, attesting the "singular" —it is the word of the ecclesiastical chronicler—piety and devotion of their clergy and their flocks to this particular form of worship, and imploring almost unanimously that the doctrine in question should be "defined."

Of course they did! When a Pope asks such questions of his Bishops, it would be a miracle indeed if any other answer save that wished for were returned!

On the 1st of December Pius, having received the desired answers, called the Cardinals to a Consistory, and asked of them if it seemed good to them that he should issue a dogmatic decree, affirming the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary? And every member of the Sacred College replied that it was the best thing he could possibly do—of course!

For many weeks past there had been an immense influx of Cardinals and Bishops into Rome. Strangely enough they came from the uttermost parts of the earth without waiting for the reply of the Sacred College to the Pope's question—so that they might have had all their journey in vain! Happily it was not so! The names of all who came were chronicled day by day as they arrived, and may be read in the columns of the *Official Gazette;* and a more permanent record of them has been inscribed with pardonable pride by the Pontiff on tablets of marble, affixed to the north and south walls of the chancel of St. Peter's. Most of them were specially invited. Many came uninvited. All were received with the utmost gladness and hospitality by the Holy Father. It was emphatically a case of the more the merrier!

On the great day fixed for the ceremony, the 8th, fifty-three Cardinals, forty-two Archbishops, and ninety Bishops were assembled in the great Basilica of St. Peter. An enormous crowd of persons of every class of society thronged the church, eager—as an ecclesiastical chronicler puts it—"to hear what thing it was that they were to believe firmly." At half-past

* With some very noteworthy exceptions, which may be found given at length in Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon," in a letter to the author of the *Christian Year*, Oxford, 1865. Note B, p. 351.

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eight in the morning the ceremony began. The Pontiff himself performed Mass. Then his Eminence Cardinal Macchi, as Dean of the Sacred College, asked in the name of all the anxious world that the Pontiff should proceed to the definition of the doctrine. Then the hymn "Veni Creator" was sung by the whole assemblage. After which the Pontiff, with his magnificent voice slightly quivering at first with emotion, pronounced *urbi et orbi* the decree as follows: "By the authority of Jesus Christ, our Lord, aud by that of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to the honour of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, to the decoration and exaltation of the Virgin, to the exaltation of the Catholic Faith, and to the increment of the Christian religion we declare, pronounce, and define that it is a doctrine revealed by God that the Most Blessed Virgin by the singular grace and privilege of omnipotent God, out of regard for the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved free from every stain of original sin from the first instant of her Conception; and this, therefore, it behoves all the Faithful constantly and firmly to believe."

Great festivities and rejoicings celebrated the event. The city was magnificently illuminated that evening, and two thousand five hundred crowns' worth of bread and meat were distributed to the people—*panem et circenses*. An exceedingly ugly column was erected out of the special oblations of the faithful in the Piazza di Spagna, immediately in front of the College de Propaganda Fide, in commemoration of the day and the work that had hallowed it.

And it may be safely assumed that Pius the Ninth had never, since the day when the cheering and enthusiastic populace took his horses from his carriage and drew him in triumph to the Quirinal amid the plaudits of the entire city, known so happy a moment as that in which he announced, from his high place in St. Peter's the new article of faith *urbi et orbi*.

It must not be supposed that the brief formula of proclamation quoted above constitutes the sole promulgation of the Immaculate Conception. This has been done in due form by a Bull, which is a very much more lengthy affair. A somewhat curious and remarkable offering to the Holy Father, sent quite recently (February, 1877) by his faithful children in France, assures in a singular fashion the preservation and at need the

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diffusion of it. A colossal cabinet, magnificent as ivory, precious woods, mother of pearl, and carving can make it, having a statue of the *Immaculata* in silver on the top of it, and furnished with three hundred drawers, has arrived at the Vatican, and has been set up in the middle of the hall consecrated to the memory of the promulgation of the new dogma. And in every one of the three hundred drawers there is an elegantly bound, beautifully written, and admirably-illumined volume, each of which contains the Bull defining the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in one of the three hundred dialects into which the designers of this unique offering have caused it to be translated.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL ON THE VIA OSTIA.—THE NEW CHURCH.—ITS COST.—THE ADVENTURE OF THE POPE AT THE BASILICA OF ST. AGNES.—CONSISTORY OF THE 22ND OF JANUARY.—POPE'S COMPLAINTS OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT.—EXCOMMUNICATION PRONOUNCED AGAINST ALL CONCERNED IN THE RECENT PIEDMONTESE LEGISLATION.—COMPLAINT OF SPAIN AND SWITZERLAND.—CONCORDAT WITH AUSTRIA.—JOURNEY OF THE POPE.—LEAVES ROME ON THE 4TH OF MAY.—HOLY HOUSE AT LORETO.—POPE'S JOURNEY BY TEFNI, SPOLETO, PERUGIA, SINIGAGLIA, ETC., TO LORETO.—HIS JOURNEY TO BOLOGNA.—VISITS OF GREAT PERSONAGES.—VISIT TO MODENA.—TO FERRARA.—TO RAVENNA.—JOURNEY TO TUSCANY.—ENTRY INTO FLORENCE.—POPE AT THE PITTI PALACE.—VISITS VOLTERRA, ETC.—GRAND DUKE'S HOSPITALITY.—COST OF IT.—THE POPE'S RETURN TO ROME.

THE Pontiff took the opportunity offered by the extraordinary number of great ecclesiastical dignitaries assembled in Rome for the promulgation of the new dogma, as related in the foregoing chapter, to consecrate the new Church of St. Paul. The ancient basilica existing in this spot, marked, according to tradition, by the martyrdom of the Apostle of the Gentiles, had been burned down in 1823. Leo the Twelfth, in 1825, ordered the reconstruction of it, charging the revenue with an annual expenditure of not less than fifty thousand crowns, and appealing to all the Catholic world for help to complete the work. Three hundred and forty-two thousand crowns were subscribed, and various sovereigns, especially the non-Catholic Emperor of Russia, and the infidel Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, sent marbles of great value. The edifice, at least as regards the sumptuous interior, was now completed, and awaited consecration. About one million crowns had been expended on it. Never was money and human effort so foolishly thrown away; and all the huge sums that were expended on the work by the Papal Government were borrowed money, supplied on such terms as seemed to Rothschild a sufficient motive for advancing it; while the Apostolic Government was year by year

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increasing its indebtedness to proportions which menaced a financial catastrophe. The spot in the midst of the Campagna, about three miles from Rome, towards Ostia, on which the church stands, is one of those subjected in a special degree to the scourge of the malaria. The priests who serve the church cannot in the summer or autumn remain there, but hurry out to perform the prescribed services, and escape in all haste from the desolate spot. Congregation, of course, there is none; and no thought of the possibility of there ever being one entered into the imagination of any of those who contributed to the erection of the new church. It is good that historical traditions should not be allowed to perish; but surely this one, however important, might have been securely perpetuated at a less cost than that of this splendid, but grossly inartistic and, æsthetically speaking, vulgar building. Outside it is a colossal brick and mortar barn, without the smallest pretension to any attempt at architectural beauty of any kind; in the interior it is gorgeous, with a tasteless accumulation of rare and costly marbles and gilding. That the workmanship should by its excellence exceed the value of the material on which it is expended, was once deemed the special characteristic of a work of art; but few buildings have ever been raised in which the reverse is so conspicuously the case as in this Basilica of St. Paul.

It had now, however, to be consecrated. There was at hand a notable assembly of the principal representatives of the Catholic world to do honour to the occasion, and on the 10th of that December, 1854, the Pontiff had another happy day.

And the 12th of the following April had a yet greater good fortune and pleasure in store for him, in an event which not only broke the tedium of an existence, the quietness of which must have palled on the taste of one accustomed to such a life as that of the early days of his papacy, but placed him personally *en evidence* before admiring Europe, and provided a long succession of pleasant anniversaries! The remains of an ancient Basilica—that of St. Alexander, Pontiff and martyr—had recently been discovered about seven miles from the Via Nomentana; and on the 12th of April, 1855, the Pope made an excursion to visit the spot. On his return, he stopped to dine in the convent of St. Agnes, attached to the Basilica of that name. It was a pleasant little festival. Forty persons had the honour of

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being invited to the papal table; and after the dinner a number of the students of the Propaganda were admitted to kiss the foot of the Holy Father. There were six Cardinals of the party, and several Bishops, and all were finding the day a delightful one, when suddenly a beam which supported the floor of the large room in which the party was assembled, gave way, and the whole of them, about one hundred and twenty in number, were precipated into the apartment below! The alarm and confusion were great; but it was found at length, when all had been extricated, that nobody had been killed, nobody badly hurt, and only a few, among whom was the Pope himself, received some slight wounds and bruises. A miracle! All flock into the adjoining church of St. Agnes to return thanks—Pope and his subjects influenced by the same emotions of past alarm and escape from danger. It was really a happy day! And all the subsequent felicitations! the recognition of the special intervention of the Virgin Mary, watchful over the especial and beloved worshipper who had so recently done so much for her! Could there be a better feather for a papal cap?

Nevertheless, the years that intervened between the return from Gaeta and 1849, the date of the war against Austria, which was the beginning of the end of the temporal sovereignty of the Pontiffs, though tranquil, were troubled ones. Even the tranquillity was not without its bitterness to the Pope, for it was the result of the occupation of Rome by the French. And Pius the Ninth wanted much to have his own capital in his own hands! But much worse was the line of conduct which the Piedmontese Government was taking.

On the 22nd of January in this year, 1855, the Pope, who had been highly displeased by various acts of the Subalpine Government, assembled the Cardinals in Consistory; and having caused to be distributed to them a document, in which the various grounds of complaint by the Apostolic See against Piedmont were set forth—such as the freedom of the press, the subjection of missives emanating from Rome to the Royal *exequatur*, the suppression of ecclesiastical immunities, the expulsion of the Jesuits and of the Archbishops of Turin and Cagliari, the abolition of tithes in Sardinia, Protestant places of worship opened in Turin and in Genoa, the proposal of a law to make marriage a civil contract, and, finally, the now

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threatened suppression of religious houses—the Pope declared to the members of the Sacred College, that "words were wanting to him to express the bitterness with which his heart was oppressed at seeing the infinitely cruel and scarcely credible acts that are from day to day committed against the venerable rights of the Church, and against the supreme and inviolable authority of this Holy See," by the Piedmontese Government. He goes on to say that the time has come when it is necessary to put a stop to these evils, and he declares all the laws made and acts done, to the ends above rehearsed, to be null and void; and desires that all such as have been in any way or capacity engaged in doing these things, to consider carefully the pains and penalties attached by the decrees of the Council of Trent to such offenders.

The Piedmontese Government made no answer to this allocution; but the Parliament passed the bill for the suppression of the convents by large majorities in both houses, and on the 22nd and 28th of May, and on the 29th of that month a decree was published by which three hundred and thirty-four convents were suppressed in the Piedmontese dominions. On the 26th of July the Pontiff summoned another Consistory, in which he declared that it was "with incredible sadness of mind that he was compelled" to declare that all those who had proposed, approved, sanctioned the laws in question, or who had acted on them, favoured them, executed them, or adhered to them, had incurred the greater excommunication, and all the ecclesiastical censures and pains fulminated against such offenders.

In the same Consistory he complained that he "saw, with the utmost wonder and bitterness of heart," that Spain was disregarding the terms of the Concordat made with that nation, "which he should never have believed of that country;" and that he had in consequence found it necessary to recall his legate from Madrid.

In the same Consistory he bitterly complained also of the state of ecclesiastical matters in Switzerland.

On the 3rd of November, however, the Pope was able to communicate the good news that a Concordat had been arranged with Austria, by virtue of which the communications between the Austrian Bishops and the Holy See would not be

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subjected to any supervision or permission of the Austrian Government, and the Bishops would be subjected to no censureship as regarded the publication of their pastorals. The Pontiff was at the same time much gratified by the present of a hundred thousand florins from the Emperor Francis Joseph, to be expended in pious work, by preference, "for the erection of the column of the Immaculate Conception in the Piazza di Spagna, and the completion of the Church of St. Paul."

Unquestionably the course of these years, though unmarked by any important event in the life of the pontiff, was made heavy to him by the almost uninterrupted succession of symptoms, more or less marked and unmistakable, that things were going badly with the Church. But it is probable that the manner in which the important events, which led directly up to the catastrophe that was even then overshadowing him, would be brought about, was still unforseen.

On the 4th of May, 1857, the Pontiff found himself able to accomplish a strong desire which he had long felt. Pius the Ninth, we are told, had "always ardently wished to accomplish a special act of religion," by visiting the Holy House at Loreto. It is not probable that he had "always" been anxious to make this visit, for he might very easily have done so in the old days of his residence at Sinigaglia, which is but a few miles to the south of Loreto. But now that he had assumed the position of a very special devotee and patron of the Virgin Mary, it is intelligible that it behoved him to do so. The legend of the Holy House is too well known for it to be necessary to spend many words on the subject. It is a small brick and mortar house, consisting of one chamber and a closet behind it, which is said to have been the residence of the Virgin Mary, and to have been miraculously transported, after sundry adventures by the way, to the spot where it now stands. A magnificent church has been built over and around it; and the *treasury*, consisting of the offerings of the faithful during many generations, was the wealthiest in Europe till the contents were stolen by the French. It is of course a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

On the 4th of May the Pope left Rome on this pious expedition. His wish to do so had been duly notified to all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the districts through which he

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would have to pass; and the result was "a deputation" to implore his Holiness to condescend to do what he desired to do. Taking with him many of the principal personages of his household, and the prelate Berardi, subsequently raised to the purple, as pro-Secretary of State, he travelled by Terni, Spoleto (where striking reminiscences and some curious contrasts must have awaited him), Assisi, Perugia, Camerino, and Macerata, and reached Loreto on the 14th. Thence, having performed his devotions in due form, and after an excursion to Fermo and Ascoli, he continued his journey by Ancona, Sinigaglia (contrasts and memories yet stranger than before!), Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Forli, Faenza, Imola (once more among old acquaintances!), and thence to Bologna, where he purposed remaining some little time, and took up his residence at the suburban villa of St. Michele in Bosco. At various points of this journey he received the visits and the homage of a great variety of great personages. In Perugia, the Archduke Charles came to him, as the representative of his father, the Grand Duke of Tuscany; in Pesaro, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. In Bologna he received the visits of Louis, King of Bavaria, of Robert, Duke of Parma, and his mother, the Duchess of Berry. Leopold, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Francis the Fifth, Duke of Modena, also came to pay their respects to him at Bologna, and begged him to visit their respective capitals. The Emperor of Austria also sent Count Bessingen, the Governor of the Venetian provinces, and the King of Sardinia sent the Commendatore Boncompagni, his Minister at the Court of Tuscany, to wait on him at Bologna. It was only a few months previously that he had, as has been seen, excommunicated the King of Sardinia (not specially and individually, or by name, but impliedly); but it is to be presumed that no allusion was made on the present occasion to that untoward fact.

On the 2nd of July the Holy Father went to Modena, gladdened the pious Duke by his presence for two days, and on the 4th returned to Bologna.

On the 10th he visited Ferrara, returning again to Bologna on the 15th; and he spent the days from the 21st to the 26th in Ravenna. After that he remained at the Villa Michele, in Bosco, till the 16th of August.

Then setting out for Tuscany, he passed the night of his ar-

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rival at a villa called Le Maschere, not far from Florence, whence he made his ceremonial entry into that city the nex morning.

The Grand Duke went out to meet him; and the present writer, who was then at Florence, well remembers all the difficulty and debate there was among the masters of ceremonies and the like on the question what rule of precedence should regulate the entry of the Pope and the Duke into the capital of the latter. It seems to have been a very knotty point whether the carriage of the Pope or that of the Duke should precede. It appears, indeed, to have been insoluble ; for it was at length settled that they should make their entry in the same carriage, seated side by side. The same witness well remembers how flat an affair that entry was—how utterly the Florentines refused to make demonstration of any pleasure or rejoicing on the occasion. The Holy Father must have received a renewed assurance that he must for the future look to the ranks of his own caste alone for sympathy, applause, and flattery.

One entire floor of the Pitti Palace was assigned to the Holy Father and his suite while he remained in the City of Flowers ; and the irreverent Florentines, less used to such matters of ecclesiastical etiquette than the Roman world, made great fun of the fact that all the female portion of the ordinary inhabitants of the apartments in question had to be removed from them on the occasion.

Pius remained in Florence, save for a short visit to Prato and Pistoria, till the 23rd. On the 24th he started on his return to Rome, and, visiting Pisa, Leghorn, and Lucca by the way, reached Volterra on the 26th, where he passed the following day, for the sake of visiting his old school. On the 28th he went to Siena, and on the 31st quitted Tuscany by the Valdichiana. The Grand Duke had accompanied him during the whole of his travels in Tuscany, and had during the whole time played the host in a very splendid manner. The Tuscans, meanwhile, were grudgingly counting the cost, which was calculated to have exceeded seventy thousand francesconi, or more than fourteen thousand pounds.

On the first night of the Pontiff's return to his own dominions he slept at Orvieto, and passed the following day there. The 3rd and 4th of September he passed at Viterbo, and on

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the 5th re-entered Rome, where he was received with every possible demonstration of rejoicing and enthusiastic welcome—by the clergy.

He had been absent from Rome just four months, and had in the course of his travels visited almost every city of note in his dominions, as well as nearly the whole of Tuscany.

The expense incurred on account of this journey by the deeply-indebted and embarrassed Papal Government was about one million and twenty thousand crowns.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

PETITIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE LEGATIONS NEGLECTED.—POPE'S SPEECH ON HIS RETURN TO ROME.—WORDS OF NAPOLEON THE THIRD TO THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR ON THE 1ST JANUARY, 1859.—WAR BREAKS OUT.—POSITION OF THE POPE.—VIEWS OF FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.—PEACE ON THE 6TH OF JULY.—PAPAL PROTEST OF THE 15TH OF JUNE.—PAPAL ALLOCUTION.—EXPEDITION AGAINST PERUGIA.—ALLOCUTION OF THE 26TH OF SEPTEMBER.—SARDINIAN MINISTER LEAVES ROME.—PROPOSED CONGRESS,—THE PAMPHLET "THE POPE AND THE CONGRESS."—PAPAL REPLY TO IT.—POPE'S SPEECH ON THE FIRST DAY OF 1860.—LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO THE POPE.—ERROR OF NAPOLEON'S VIEW.—THE POPE'S REPLY.—NON POSSUMUS.

THE populations of the provinces of the pontifical dominions, more especially of the Legations, as they are called—that is to say, of Romagna and Emilia—seized the opportunity of the Pontiff's presence among them to endeavour to bring to his notice the very unsatisfactory condition of the country, and the sufferings of a large portion of the inhabitants. No formal presentation, however, of those petitions and representations was permitted, and the Government, we are told, "was informed of them only by means of the vast number of copies of them which were in circulation;" and whatever amount of information may have reached the Pontiff by these means, nothing was done, and no attention was paid to the wishes or the complaints of the people. It may be that no cry of complaint or supplication for relief was suffered to reach either the ear or the eye of the Pontiff.

If he were *not* ignorant of the expression of these sufferings and of these petitions, he was guilty of very gross hypocrisy and falsehood when, on the 25th of September, after his return to Rome, in an allocution in Consistory respecting his journey, he "gave thanks to the Most High for the satisfaction of having seen that all the populations of the provinces he had visited had shown themselves so devoted to the Holy See—

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that his journey had seemed a perpetual and solemn triumph of our most holy religion." He said that he had very willingly listened to the magistrates, "who had set forth the local needs of the different places, or the measures required for the augmentation of their commerce, with the respectfulness and in the manner which befitted subjects of the Holy See." He spoke of the great pleasure with which he had received attestations of respect from so many Sovereigns, especially in Modena and Tuscany (and here he spoke with unquestionable sincerity), and finally he expressed his thanks to all, and particularly to the Roman people.

The Pontiff was delighted with the proper and respectful manner in which his subjects expressed their wishes and needs. He had travelled over nearly the whole of his dominions, and had found that order reigned at Perugia, at Bologna, at Ferrara, at Ravenna, as at Rome. And there was the reassuring thought that this "order" was guaranteed by the solid force of France in the south and Austria in the north! It was not agreeable to the Holy Father to have the troops of France in Rome, and he would have much preferred that they should have afforded him the requisite protection from a greater distance. But as it was, "order reigned;" and there seemed no immediate danger of those "changes" which "perplex monarchs."

But on the first day of the year 1859 the curtain began to rise on a new drama. On that day Napoleon the Third, then the arbiter of European destinies, said to the representative of Austria at his Court, "I am sorry that our relations with your Government are not so good as heretofore; but pray tell the Emperor that my sentiments towards him personally are unchanged." A very quiet little word! But on hearing it Austria immediately sent thirty thousand men to reinforce her army in Italy! On the 10th of January Victor Emmanuel, opening the Piedmontese Parliament, sounded a similar note. And in a word it was evident that there was to be war in the north of Italy; and that the two protectors of the Holy Father were about to enter on an internecine struggle.

In these awkward circumstances the first fear of the Pope was that active hostilities might ensue between the Austrians who were at Ancona, and the French who were at Rome. And

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the step which he took to remove this danger was a communication from Cardinal Antonelli to the ambassadors of Austria and France on the 22nd of February, in which he represented that the Holy Father thought himself sufficiently strong to be able to secure the maintenance of peace in his States, and that he was consequently ready to make arrangements with the two powers in question for the simultaneous withdrawal of the troops of both those Powers from his dominions with the least delay possible. This step on the part of the Papal Government was a very remarkable one, inasmuch as it indicates an ignorance of the state of Italy and of the prevailing wishes and aspirations of the subjects of the Holy See, which seems altogether incredible. It is inconceivable that the Pope's advisers, if not the Pontiff himself, should have had any doubt about the fact that, if the Holy Father had been left alone with his subjects, unprotected as well as untrammelled by any foreign power, his temporal government would not have endured a week! Nor is this a case in which the event is needed to throw a light upon the circumstances of the time. There could hardly have been a layman in Italy at that time, of those at all capable of forming an opinion on the subject, who could not have foretold as much!

The application of Cardinal Antonelli to the ambassadors was wholly unattended to. Both protectors, while fighting out their own quarrel, treated the Holy Father as nurses treat a child who cries for what is not good for it! But their own ultimate intentions with respect to him were very different. Austria, of course, was fighting for a universal *status quo*, and had she been victorious would have made—or at least would have done her best to make—Pius the Ninth every inch a Pope and Pope-king again. France was fighting to make and support for herself an influence in Italy, and with ultimate intentions with regard to the Holy Father of a very different nature from those of his real friend Austria. For while supporting him in the exercise of his temporal power, France could not in the circumstances of her own position at home and in Europe do otherwise than press him to make reforms which he had ascertained to be incompatible with that power. Moreover it had become sufficiently clear by this time who the Pope's real, dangerous,

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and deadly enemy was—Piedmont; and France was going to war as the friend and ally of Piedmont.

The story of the war and its results is a well-known one. Peace was made at Villafranca on the 6th of July, 1859, one of the stipulations between the two Emperors being that an Italian confederation should be established under the honorary presidency of the Pope. Of course this would have well suited the views of France, as they were explained by the Emperor himself to his own Senate subsequently. But here, again, it seems extraordinary that the Emperor and his counsellors should not have possessed sufficient knowledge of Italy, of its constituent parts, and of the temper and views of the Italians, to be sure that such a scheme was a chimerical one. Possibly the Emperor did know it to be chimerical.

But while France and Piedmont on the one side, and Austria on the other, had been settling the destinies of Northern Italy, the dominions of the Holy Father had been showing how much truth there was in his statements of their devotedness to himself, by throwing off his yoke in the Legations, and striving to do so in Umbria. On the 15th of June Cardinal Antonelli addressed a circular to the representatives of the Powers residing at Rome, protesting against all that had been done in the Legations; and on the 18th of the same month the Pontiff wrote a long encyclical letter to the "Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic world," in which he declares that he is prepared to suffer any affliction "rather than abandon in any respect our apostolic duty, or permit anything contrary to the sanctity of the oath by which we were bound, when we, however unworthy, were raised to this supreme seat of the chief of the Apostles, the fortress and bulwark of the Catholic Faith."

On the next day but one his Holiness addressed a long allocution to the Cardinals, rehearsing with much violence of reprobation the rebellious acts of his subjects in Bologna, Ravenna, Perugia, and other cities; declaring that the object of such felonious deeds is to destroy the Catholic religion itself; setting forth the absolutely imprescriptible title on which he holds the sovereignty of his dominions; fulminating excommunication against all those engaged in these rebellions and resistance to his authority; and concluding by saying that his hope of a happy exit from all these evils "is certainly increased by the

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fact that the French armies at present existing in Italy will, in accordance with the declarations of our very dear son in Christ the Emperor of the French, not only abstain from doing anything against our temporal power and that of the Holy See, but on the contrary will defend and preserve it."

The Apostolic Government at the same time took active measures to do what lay in its own power to put down rebellion at least in the nearest of the revolted provinces; and sent the troops of which it could dispose to Perugia, with results which are but too well known, the story of which, however, does not fall within the scope of this work. It is fair, perhaps, to consider that the excesses of the soldiery sent to Perugia make no part of the personal biography of the Pontiff. Nevertheless it is not permissible for a biographer to forget, however gladly he would do so, that so far from reproving or even deploring the hideous excesses that were committed by his troops in Perugia, the Holy Father saw fit to thank the general in command, and to cause a commemorative medal to be struck as a memorial of his gratitude and a reward to the soldiers for doings which no other civilized state would have tolerated in its agents! No compassion for those guilty of rebelling against his authority could reach the heart of a sacerdotal ruler, and no ferocity in the repressing of such rebellion seems to priestly eyes aught but holy zeal!

On the 26th of September the Holy Father again delivered a long address to the Cardinals assembled in Consistory. Going over again the facts of the rebellion, and protesting against them and the authors of them, he proceeds to say that, "Moved by undisguised hatred to his Holy See, they have dared to meet together in Bologna on the 6th of this month in an assembly, called by them the National Assembly of the people of Emilia, and to promulgate a decree full of false accusations and false pretexts, in which, mendaciously asserting the unanimity of the people, they declared, in opposition to the rights of the Church, that they would no longer remain under the Pontifical Government. And on the following day they similarly declared, as is now the fashion, that they wished to unite themself to the dominions of the King of Sardinia and to become his subjects." The Holy Father then laments that these same rebellious and impious men are doing everything in

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their power to corrupt the morals of the people, "especially by means of books and journals printed at Bologna and elsewhere, by means of which universal license is favoured, the Vicar of Christ is lacerated with abuse, the exercise of piety and religion is ridiculed, and the prayers addressed in honour of the Immaculate and Most Holy Mother of God the Virgin Mary for the invocation of her most potent protection are derided. In the theatres also morality is offended; and modesty and virtue and sacred persons are exposed to public contumely and derision. And these things are done by those who call themselves Catholics and reverently devout towards the supreme spiritual power and authority of the Roman Pontiff!" The Holy Father proceeds at great length to renew his protests against all that had been done in the revolted provinces, to declare all their acts void and of no effect, and to declare the ecclesiastical penalties incurred by all who had rebelled or abetted the rebellion.

After this allocution the representative of the King of Sardinia could hardly continue to reside at Rome; and on the 1st of October Cardinal Antonelli wrote to Count della Minerva, informing him that the dignity of the Holy Father did not permit that a representative of the King of Sardinia should any longer reside in his Court, and he was therefore obliged to send him his passports. On its becoming known to the public that he was about to quit Rome, nearly four thousand individuals called and left their cards on him; and so great a crowd gathered to cheer him as he left the city, that it was deemed necessary to call out the troops to preserve order.

These were sufficiently significant symptoms that nothing save foreign force could any longer maintain the temporal power of the Holy See, and that the European Congress, which it was proposed should meet in the beginning of the year 1860, for the arrangement of the affairs of Central Italy, and especially of the Papal States, would have a task of no ordinary difficulty on their hands.

Some of those who were invited to join it were of that opinion, and declined the task. Instead of the Congress, a French pamphlet, which became very celebrated, made its appearance. It was entitled "The Pope and the Congress," and was anonymous, but was supposed to be written by "one De la Guerron-

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ière," as the Italian annalist says, and to express the ideas and purposes of Napoleon the Third. These were, briefly, that it was needful, for the sake of the Catholic religion, that the Pope should continue to be a temporal sovereign; but that, as he was an extremely bad one, his sovereignty should be as small as possible; that all his dominions should therefore be taken from him save Rome and the so-called "patrimony of St. Peter," the rule over the inhabitants of which should be secured to him by the powers of Europe, for the good of the faithful in all the other parts of the world. The arrangement was eminently satisfactory to all parties except the Pope himself, and the victims who were to be sacrificed to the religious requirements of their fellow-creatures. The former lost no time in crying aloud against the fate proposed for him. A statement immediately appeared in the Roman *Official Gazette*, to the effect that the pamphlet in question was "a homage to revolution," filled with "hidden poison"—"a subject of grief for all good Catholics"—"a reproduction of errors and insults vomited against the Holy See," etc. In short, the Pope would in nowise consent to the proposed arrangement.

On the first day of 1860, when receiving the visits of the representatives of the Powers, and of the generals of the French occupying force, the Pope said that he prayed God to enlighten the French Emperor, to the end that he might "securely tread the difficult path before him, and recognise the falsehood of certain principles which had appeared within the last few days, in a work which may be described as a notable monument of hypocrisy, and an ignoble collection of contradictions. We hope," continued the Pontiff, "that by the assistance of this Divine illumination, or rather we are persuaded, that by the assistance of this illumination he will condemn the principles contained in this work; and we are the more convinced that he will do so from the circumstance that we possess certain documents, which he had the goodness to place in our hands some little time since, which are a veritable condemnation of the principles in question. And in this conviction we implore from God that he will spread his benediction over the Emperor, over his august Consort, over the Prince Imperial, and the whole of France."

Of course, there would have been no object in noticing the

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offending pamphlet if it had not been known to proceed from the Emperor!

When the Congress had first been proposed, Pius had written to the Emperor, begging that he would support at it the entirety and inviolability of the temporal dominions of the Holy See, and protect it against the iniquitous rebellion; and the Emperor had replied at considerable length. The gist of his letter is that, if the Pope had taken the advice of the Emperor at the time of the conclusion of peace at Villafranca, and had separated the administration of the Legations from that of his other States, and appointed a lay governor over them, those provinces would, in his opinion, have returned to their allegiance; that the coming Congress would no doubt recognise the right of the Holy See to the provinces in question, but would probably decline to use force for the subjection of them to the Holy Father; that he, the Emperor, had not had power to prevent the rebellion in those provinces and the determination of the people to withdraw themselves from the authority of the Pontiff; that the only thing now to be done was for the Holy Father freely to renounce his sovereignty over those provinces, asking the European Powers to guarantee to him the remainder of his dominions in exchange for that sacrifice; and that he, the Emperor, doubted not that, if that course were followed, the immediate return of order would be the result.

If the Emperor really thought as he says he does in his letter, it indicates that he was singularly ignorant of the social condition of Italy, of the state of opinion and temper among the Italians in all parts of the peninsula, and of the forces which, more or less overtly, were at work from one end to the other of it. But there are other portions of his policy, and other of his utterances on the subject previously and subsequently, which would go to show that he really was thus ignorant, and that his suggestions to the Holy Father may, therefore, have been sincerely made.

The Pope, who knew better, replied on the 8th of January, 1860. He points out, with unanswerable force of argument, that the guarantee of the European Powers, which then declined to use force for the restoration to him of the Legations, to which they admit his right, would be worth little as an assurance to the Holy See that it would not subsequently be

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despoiled of what remained to it, seeing that the same reasons which availed to dissuade them from using force in the present case would exist and continue equally cogent in the future case. But the consideration which was paramount with Pius the Ninth, which ruled then and has ruled his conduct ever since, is set forth in the following words: "A project of such a nature presents insurmountable difficulties; and to acquire a conviction that such is the case, it will suffice to reflect on my situation, on my sacred character, and on the rights of the Holy See—rights which are not those of a dynasty, but of all Catholics. The difficulties are insurmountable because *I can not* give up that which does not belong to me. . . . I find myself under the obligation of declaring openly to your Majesty that *I can not* yield the Legations without violating the solemn oaths which bind me; without producing an evil and a shock to the other provinces; without doing evil and causing injury to all the Catholic world."

The letter is very long, and in parts devoid neither of strength of argument nor of eloquence. But the important kernel of it is contained in the above passage. It is the authoritative declaration of the *non possumus*, which has become proverbial, and which has been the unbending rule by which the Pontiff has governed the whole of his subsequent conduct.

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CHAPTER XXV.

FRENCH VIEW OF THE POPE'S POSITION ERRONEOUS.—TEMPERAMENT OF PIUS THE NINTH.—ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF THE 19TH OF JANUARY.—REPLY OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—COMMUNICATION BY THE MEANS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON THE 12TH OF FEBRUARY.—PROPOSALS OF PIEDMONT OFFENSIVE TO THE HOLY FATHER.—LETTER OF PIUS TO VICTOR EMMANUEL.—ANNEXATION OF THE LEGATIONS.—PROTEST AND COMPLAINT OF THE POPE.—ALL CONCERNED IN THE ANNEXATION EXCOMMUNICATED.—PAPAL GOVERNMENT ARMS.—LAMORICIERE APPOINTED GENERAL-IN-CHIEF.—HIS ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.—ISOLATION OF THE HOLY FATHER.—FURTHER DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS.—PROPOSALS OF FRANCE AND OF AUSTRIA.—REJECTED IN TOTO BY THE PONTIFF, 14TH OF APRIL, 1860.—DIFFICULT POSITION OF THE PIEDMONTESE GOVERNMENT.—COMMUNICATION BY CAVOUR TO CARDINAL ANTONELLI.—REPLY OF ANTONELLI.—FRANCE WITHDRAWS HER MINISTER FROM TURIN.—DETERMINATION OF CAVOUR.—BATTLE OF CASTEL FIDARDO.

THERE can be no doubt now, even if there could have been any doubt at the time, that the Emperor was mistaken in supposing that the Pope could have secured the possession of his other provinces by relinquishing the Legations, and that the Holy Father was right in his opinion and declaration that the guarantees suggested for giving him that security would prove illusory. The months of this 1860 must have been a very bitter time to the Pontiff! He had discovered during the early years of his pontificate that he had no friends among his own subjects, that the requirements of his position as Pope-king inevitably placed a barrier of dissension and hatred between them and him. He was now to find himself equally deserted and left alone in face of his enemies by all his brother sovereigns! The experience of those months would have gone far to kill any man killable by disappointment and sorrow! But Pius the Ninth did not grow thin; his cheek did not pale; his eye retained its brightness; the magnificent volume of his voice rolled in as full a body as ever through the Hall of Consistory, as he pronounced allocution after allocution, despairing enough in the tenor of them, to the assembled Cardinals. And so it has been during

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the whole of his long life! Sorrow seems to have no hold on him—passes over him as water from a duck's back! Of course, in the estimation of the devout of his own world-wide flock, the explanation of the phenomenon is not far to seek! How should such a man be suffered to faint for want of support? How should the "Definer" of the Immaculate Conception be without the even miraculously given comfort of Mary the Consoler? While minds cast in a different mould will probably see in the same facts only the natural results of an eupeptic condition of the organism, together with a certain manifestation of that hardness to all exterior troubles of a not absolutely personal description, which is often seen to accompany the melodramatic temperament, and which the reader will find strongly marked in other circumstances of the Pontiff's life.

On the 19th of January Pius issued an encyclical letter to all the Bishops of the Catholic world, assuring them of his unalterable determination to maintain to the utmost of his ability the entirety and inviolability of his temporal power, "which is a matter of interest to all the Catholic world." He goes on to call upon them "never to cease from every effort and endeavour to protect the Catholic Church and this Holy See, and for the preservation of the civil sovereignty of the same, and of the patrimony of St. Peter, the defence of which belongs to all Catholics."

The French Government put forth a reply to this encyclic on the 8th of February, in which it was insisted that "the Court of Rome was not well inspired in endeavouring to establish a sort of indissoluble connection between two orders of interests which cannot be confounded without danger." This, it is abundantly evident, is a mere begging of the question. The document, however, goes on to point out that it was not then for the first time that the situation of the Legations had been examined under a purely political aspect, which is true enough. But it would have been more to the purpose if the French Foreign Office had shown, as they might so easily and so abundantly have done from the pages of the history of mediæval Italy, the absurdity of maintaining that the due discharge of the duties and functions of the Papacy depended on the possession of sovereign power which the Popes did not possess till comparatively modern times.

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A few days later, on the 12th of February, the French Government addressed a letter to the Duc de Grammont, then Ambassador at Rome, in which the Pope was again urged to separate the religious from the political question, and allow the question of the Legations to be debated on that footing.

Cardinal Antonelli replied to these despatches on the 29th of the same month, urging at length that the discontent, disaffection, and rebellion in the Legations had not been caused by any maladministration of the Papal Government, but had been produced purposely and artificially by means from without—in short, by Piedmont; that the religious and the political questions were, in the case of the Pontiff, inseparable; and that it was impossible for the Holy Father to yield that which was in fact a principle.

On the 2nd of March a long conference took place between Antonelli and the French ambassador, in which the former again declared that the Pope would never come to any accord for the cession of the Legations. About the same time, the King of Sardinia, or rather Count Cavour, in his name, sent a long letter to Pius the Ninth, justifying himself for the part he had taken in promoting Italian unity, and concluding by saying that if the Pope "would demand my frank and loyal assistance, a way might be found to establish, not only in Romagna, but also in the Marches and Umbria, such a state of things that, reserving for the Church her superior sovereignty, and assuring to the Supreme Pontiff a glorious position at the head of the Italian nation, would cause the inhabitants of these provinces to partake in the benefits which a strong and supremely national Government assures to the districts of Central Italy."

The Pope was highly offended at these proposals, as well he might be! A more palpable, one might almost say insolent, attempt to throw dust in the eyes of an adversary, was surely never made! A more foolish attempt too, it might be thought! Could Cavour have deemed it possible that the Pope and Antonelli, and his other counsellors, could have been caught with such chaff? The probability is that he never did deem any such result of his letter possible; and that it was intended only as a contribution to the justification for the line of conduct

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already determined on, which it was desirable to prepare for contemporary diplomatic Europe and for future history.

The Pope replied to it by a letter to the King, in which he told him that the idea he had put forward was "was not a wise one, and certainly not worthy of a Catholic sovereign, and specially of a King of the House of Savoy! My reply," added his Holiness, "has already been printed in my encyclical letter to the Bishops of the Catholic world, which you may easily read. For the rest, I am afflicted, not for myself, but for the unhappy condition of your Majesty's soul, entangled as you are in censures which will fall on you with greater weight when the act of sacrilege, which you and yours have the intention of committing, shall have been consummated."

In March the act was consummated, the first of sundry acts of the same kind that were to follow. The Legations, by vote of the populations, declared that they would no longer be subjects of the Pontiff, but would be united to the kingdom of the King of Sardinia. And the Piedmontese Government accepted the proposal. On the 20th of March the King wrote a second letter to Pius the Ninth, giving his reasons for acting as he had done for the advantage of Italy, and promising that, if the Pope would enter into negotiations with his Government, he would make up to the Holy See anything that might be lost to it in revenue from the loss of the provinces in question. On the 2nd of April the Pope replied, declaring, of course, the impossibility of his coming to any such terms in any way. With regard to the statement that the populations of the revolted provinces had declared by universal suffrage that they would no longer belong to the Pope, Pius the Ninth remarks: "I might tell you that the so-called universal suffrage was not spontaneous, but imposed on the people; but upon this subject I abstain from asking the opinion of your Majesty on universal suffrage, as I refrain also from manifesting mine." The Holy Father concludes his letter, which is written in a very severe tone throughout, by saying that when his Majesty shall calmly read over again the letter which he had written to him, he will find in it much cause for repentance!

Cardinal Antonelli at the same time protested against the spoliation of the Church in a circular addressed to the representatives of the Powers, in which he expressed the Holy

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Father's persuasion that the different Governments will not recognise such an act of usurpation. And on the 26th of March the Pope published a brief, in which he declares that, "in the crafty and perverse machinations," which have resulted in detaching the Legations from the Apostolic dominions, "the Subalpine Government has taken the principal part; not only, I say it with horror, despising my admonitions, my complaints, and all ecclesiastical penalties, but stiff-necked in its dishonesty against all right, extorted a popular vote by dint of money, of threats, of terror, and other artifices." He, therefore, after having by both public and private prayer implored the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, and after having taken counsel with "a select congregation of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," again and afresh pronounces the greater excommunication against all who have in any way whatsoever, either by word, deed, or wish, contributed to the detachment of the provinces in question from the Apostolic See.

Finding himself entirely abandoned by the Powers of Europe, and left wholly to his own resources, the Holy Father and his counsellors determined to do all that in them lay to protect at least the provinces which yet remained to them, if not to act on the offensive for the recovery of those already lost. In April, the Prelate De Merode, who in his early youth had fought in Africa, was named Minister of War; and his first act was to appoint General Lamoricière, a French general in retreat, commander-in-chief of the papal army.

On Easter Day, the 8th of April, the general issued an address to his troops, which is perhaps worth giving to the reader, as an indication of the ideas with which the clerical world went into the struggle for the preservation of the temporal power of the Church:

"His Holiness, our Lord Pius the Ninth, having deigned to call me to the honourable task of commanding you for the defence of his rights, disregarded and threatened, I have not hesitated an instant to take again my sword in hand. At the sound of that mighty voice, which recently issued from the Vatican to make known to the world the dangers which threatened the patrimony of St. Peter, the Catholic world stirred itself, and the emotion rapidly diffused itself over the whole world. From that it is clear that Christianity is not only the

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religion of the civilised world, but the principle and the life itself of civilisation. It shows, too, that the Pope is the foundation on which Christianity rests. All the Christian nations seem at the present moment to be conscious of these great truths, which constitute our faith. The revolution menaces Europe at the present day, as Islamism menaced it formerly; and now, as formerly, the cause of the Papacy is that of civilisation and of the liberties of the world. Soldiers! have faith, and be certain that God will sustain our courage at the height demanded by the cause, the defence of which He has entrusted to our hands."

The cause for which General Lamoricière took up his sword was foredoomed to failure, exactly because each one of the assertions in his address was very accurately the reverse of the truth. How far the General and his employers believed the truth to be as he states, it is of course another matter, and one of less importance. That reference to Islamism indicates very completely the idea of the question pending between the Papacy and the lay world which the Church and its friends held, and which they would fain have persuaded themselves and others was held by the rest of mankind. A new Crusade was what was needed! "The revolution" (a phrase which is always used technically by the Church and its friends to signify the opposition to ecclesiastical domination and claims which has been produced by modern thought, whether found in conjunction with one or with another school of political opinion; so that Bismarck, M. Thiers, Victor Hugo, Minghetti and Victor Emmanuel are all equally "revolutionist" in the language of the Vatican)—the revolution stands in the place of Saladin, and all civilised Europe is to rush with the old battle-cry to the rescue! But the Christian nations do *not* seem at the present moment to be conscious of the truths General Lamoricière thinks so evident to them! The world is persuaded that the cause of the Papacy is *not* that of civilisation and of the liberties of mankind. The emotion caused by the misfortunes of the Pope did *not* rapidly diffuse itself over the whole world! On the contrary, the world looked on with feelings, which effectually prevented even those fellow-sovereigns who might have wished to lend the Pope a helping hand from doing so. It was clear that no help would come that would be of any avail. What did happen is stated

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with great accuracy by the annalist Coppi, the continuer of Muratori's work, who albeit himself a priest, and not without ecclesiastical wishes and proclivities, is entirely to be trusted.

"At the news," says the annalist, "that the menaced Pope was arming against the Liberal supporters of modern ideas, malcontent Germans, Belgians, Irish, and especially French Legitimists, hastened to Rome, eager to fight for the reestablishment of the ancient governments and ways, together with the influence of the Supreme Head of the Church."

Meanwhile diplomatic attempts to arrange the matters in dispute continued. France was especially anxious to arrive at some result which the Holy Father would accept, for her own position was a difficult one. The fact that she was compelling Italians to submit to a retrograde government of very much worse character than that which, at the cost of revolution, France had rejected for herself, cried aloud to the conscience of the civilized world! It was in the April of that year that France made the overtures to Austria for a common action for the arrangement of the affairs of the Holy Father, which occasioned such a renewed refusal on the part of the Pontiff to come to any terms, as led the French Government to give up all attempt at negotiation. The proposal to the Austrian Government was to the effect, that inasmuch as the Holy Father felt himself precluded from publishing his intentions respecting reforms in his administration as long as the Legations were in a condition of rebellion, and inasmuch as there was no present prospect of his being able to recover his possession of those provinces, the Holy Father should enact such reforms as should be expedient in the provinces which remained to him, making a reservation in regard to the Legations; that the Catholic Powers should contribute a yearly sum each towards the maintenance of the Holy See, to be inscribed on the register of the national debt in each country; and that these measures would, as it was suggested, have so good an effect on the inhabitants of the provinces remaining to the Apostolic See, that it would become possible for the Holy Father to dispense with ulterior foreign support.

The Papal Government, immediately on the contents of this communication being brought to its knowledge, lost not an hour in replying (14th April, 1860), that it would have none of these

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things! However tempting the corn in the sieve might be, his Holiness started away from it with undisguised misgiving and alarm!

In the first place, the Holy See could consent to no protocol or document of any kind in which any reserve respecting the Legations was introduced, because it might seem as if the Apostolic Government thereby admitted that something had been done which established a difference between those provinces and the remainder of the ecclesiastical dominions. The Holy See would put its hand to no document save one which should express its own unalterable determination to use its utmost power for the recovery of those provinces, and the purpose of the other signatories that they should be restored by the Power which had usurped them to the victim of his usurpation.

In the second place, the Holy See would never accept any guarantee for its remaining provinces, because that also would imply the recognition of a difference between the position of those which had revolted and that of the others.

In the third place, the Pope would not accept any sum guaranteed by the Catholic Powers, unless, perhaps, it took the form of compensation for certain ancient canonical dues on vacant benefices formerly paid.

On the communication of these determinations of the Holy See to the French Government, Thouvenel, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to the Duc de Grammont, ambassador resident at Rome, that, since the Holy Father placed himself in a point of view so different from theirs, they could not cherish any hope of modifying it, and could only, with infinite regret, leave it to time to bring the Apostolic Government to resolutions more consistent with its own interests.

Meanwhile the situation was becoming exceedingly difficult for the Subalpine Government. The motley bands of Catholic supporters which the Papal Government had succeeded in collecting, were probably sufficient to put down any attempt at insurrection in the provinces which had not been annexed to Piedmont, if the Pope and his army on the one side, and the populations of the provinces on the other, were left to settle the question between them; and it might, in that case, have been possible, terrible as was the prospect of the forcible repression of the insurrectionary tendencies of these unhappy provinces

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by cosmopolitan bands of foreign mercenaries, to wait till time, as the French minister had said, should bring the Apostolic Government to better counsels. But that was not the condition of the problem. There was Garibaldi to be reckoned with,—Garibaldi and his volunteers, animated by an enthusiasm for Italian unity which was raging at blood-heat from one end of the peninsula to the other. If the troops of the Piedmontese Government held aloof and did not enter the Pope's provinces, Garibaldi would! But it may be urged that it was the duty of Victor Emmanuel's Government to restrain its subjects from filibustering enterprises against a neighbouring state. But was it in the power of Cavour and the Piedmontese Government to do so? The attempt to answer this demand would lead to an examination of the much-vexed and intricate question of the genuineness and good faith of all the professed desire and efforts of the Turin Government to restrain Garibaldi and his volunteers. It can hardly be believed that Victor Emmanuel's Government really wished that Garibaldi and his associates should desist from their effort and remain quiet, so as to take from the Turin Ministry all pretext for intervening; and it is probable that if the Piedmontese Government had really and in earnest exerted all its power to check Garibaldi and crush the filibustering of his volunteers, that would have very seriously risked Victor Emmanuel's crown—not, perhaps, in his old dominions in Piedmont, but in the newly-annexed provinces—and would have fatally compromised the hope of national unity. But, at the same time, there was equal or greater danger in remaining inactive and allowing Garibaldi and his volunteers to act freely against the papal troops, in concert with the insurgent population of the Pope's provinces. The result would have been the proclamation of an anarchic republic after terrible scenes of disorder and carnage, to be crushed afterwards by Austria or by France. Cavour determined to intervene, and to send the troops of Piedmont across the papal frontier. On the 7th of September he wrote to Antonelli, sending his letter to Civita Vecchia, where it was delivered to the pontifical governor, to be sent to Rome. This despatch, pointing out that his Sardinian Majesty could not stand by and see Italians subjected to the undisciplined violences of a horde of foreign mercenaries, informed the Cardinal that the King's

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troops had orders to prevent, "in the name of the rights of humanity," the pontifical mercenary bands from repressing by violence the sentiments of the populations of the Marches and Umbria. The writer, therefore, invites his Eminence to give immediate orders for the disarmament and dispersion of those troops, "the existence of which is a continual menace to the tranquillity of Italy."

The Pontiff and his Ministers were, as may be imagined, furious. On the 12th of the same month the Cardinal sent his reply.

Passing over, he says, the irregular manner in which the despatch of Count Cavour had reached his hands, he had given it calm attention, but must declare that he had been obliged, in doing so, to put a very strong restraint upon himself. He goes on to complain, at considerable length, of the injustice, falsehood, and calumny of the accusations brought against the pontifical troops, the unheard-of novelty of the pretension that a Sovereign could not be permitted to take foreign soldiers into his pay, and the wrong which was being done to the Apostolic See, and concludes by saying: "Your Excellency finishes your disgusting* communication by inviting me, in the name of your Sovereign, to order immediately the disarmament and dispersion of the troops in question, and the invitation is not unaccompanied by a sort of threat to the effect that Piedmont will otherwise impede the action of the troops in question by means of the royal forces. A *quasi* intimation is thus manifested [one would have said that it was by no means '*quasi*'], which I willingly abstain from characterising. The Holy See can only reject it with indignation, knowing itself to be strong in its legitimate right, and appealing to the law of nations."

The principal difficulty of the situation as regarded Piedmont, however, arose from the line of conduct adopted by France. Immediately on the communication to the French Government of the note sent by Cavour to that of Rome, the Emperor ordered Talleyrand, then his Minister at the Court of Turin, to declare to Count Cavour that, unless he could assure the French Government that no results would follow from the

* "*Disgustosa*." Perhaps the sense would be more accurately given by the word "distasteful."

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note sent to Antonelli, France "would be under the necessity of breaking off diplomatic relations with the Court of Turin, and of publicly disapproving a policy which it considered harmful to the tranquillity of Europe, and fatal to the future of Italy." This communication was made by Ta[illegible] on the 10th of September. On the following day Cavour [illegible] Talleyrand: "If we are not at La Cattolica* before Garibaldi, it is all up with us! (*siamo perduti*). The revolution will run over the whole of Italy. We are compelled to act!" And Talleyrand thereupon quitted Turin.

The short story of the little campaign which followed these diplomatic transactions does not belong in anywise to this place. The result—a very foregone conclusion—which happened on the 18th of September, at Castel Fidardo—the battle-field is within sight of the great Church of Loretto and of the conventual buildings attached to it—and at Ancona, is sufficiently well known; and Pius the Ninth, who fifteen years previously had entered on his pontificate amid the enthusiastic applause and affection of his own people, and the good wishes and favourable anticipations of all Christendom, found his dominions reduced to his capital city and the province lying around it, and himself the most bitterly-hated individual in all Italy.

* A small town on the frontier of the Marches towards Ancona.

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BOOK IV.

FROM THE VICTORY OF CASTEL FIDARDO ON THE 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1860, TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, ON THE 18TH JULY, 1870.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CONSTANCY OF PIUS THE NINTH.—HIS DAUNTLESS DETERMINATION.—PRUDENCE OF HIS CONDUCT AS REGARDS THE CHURCH.—QUESTION OF FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION.—LIMITS OF THE PONTIFICAL DOMINIONS AFTER CASTEL FIDARDO.—VOTATION OF THE MARCHES AND UMBRIA.—VARIOUS PROJECTS FOR ARRANGING THE PAPAL AFFAIRS.—CAVOUR'S DECLARATION OF THE NECESSITY OF HAVING ROME.—PAPAL ALLOCUTION.—A SECOND ALLOCUTION.—EFFORTS AND VIEWS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE EMPEROR.—OPINION OF THIERS.—ABSOLUTE UNYIELDINGNESS OF THE POPE.—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ITALY AND FRANCE BEFORE AND AFTER CASTEL FIDARDO.—CONVENTION FIXING THE ITALIAN CAPITAL AT FLORENCE.—THE PONTIFF REMAINS ENTIRELY INFLEXIBLE.

THE "nailing of colours to the mast" is an operation which, if often of doubtful political expediency, has always appealed to emotions and sympathies, which have their root in the noblest portion of the complex nature of mankind, and has rarely, so far as ensuring the admiration and applause of the crowd goes, appealed in vain. But religious—or rather ecclesiastical—prejudices and hatreds, which have their root in some of the meanest and lowest passions of humanity, have prevented the contemporary world of Pius the Ninth and his little band of counsellors from awarding to them the meed of appreciation on this score, which has been fairly their due. No ship of war going down, with every man of her crew standing at their guns, rather than strike their colours to the enemy, has shown to the world a more indomitable preference of duty to expediency than has the absolute and consistent refusal of the Pontiff to bend to the storm which has raged around him.

Unquestionably it was in his power to have made himself safe, and have baffled (for the time) all the attempts at Italian unity, if he would have consented to accept an European guarantee for the inviolability of the little sovereignty of Rome, and the immediately surrounding districts as the price of abandoning all claim to the other provinces which had been taken

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from him. He might probably have secured even Umbria and the Marches on the same terms. No question of revenue need have entered into his calculations—no doubt, did not so enter. Revenue was offered him by the Catholic Governments; and experience has shown that even apart from this, he could abundantly trust to the generosity and devotion of his own flock. He might have remained the Sovereign of Rome, guaranteed to him by Europe, with a plentiful revenue, with every facility for the performance of the gorgeous ceremonials of his Church, and maintaining in all their ancient and accustomed splendour, the dignity and importance of the Sacred College, the princes of the Church; but he refused the bait with unflinching constancy, because his duty, as he understood and saw it, forbade him to accept the tempting alternative. He has fought a good fight, and even yet continues with might and main to fight to the last. He has been brought down to his knees—not in supplication to his enemies, but as the old hero at Otterburn was, because his legs have been cut from under him; and he continues like him to fight on his stumps! The old man is going down with his face to his foes, using every arm that has been left him to the last! It cannot be denied that it is, from certain points of view, a gallant sight! And that is what has made him to the people of his own Church such an object of admiration, devotion, and veneration as few Popes, if ever any one, have been.

We—*nous autres*—cannot stretch a hand to aid or comfort him. For what he wants is to lop from the tree of humanity, all the choicest blossoms which have been produced by the slow growth of countless centuries! What he wants is, what many an aged father has wanted, to push back his adult son into a go-cart and leading strings! In short, we all know what he wants, and that even if we were any of us desirous of giving it to him, it would be wholly impossible to do so. But, after all, this is only begging the question as between him and us. We say so! He thinks otherwise! And both parties must do their duty aecordingly. But that need not prevent us from recognising that there has been something very grand about his unshakable firmness.

It has been thought by some of his own Church, and by many of those outside its pale, that Pius the Ninth and those who have counselled and aided him have from their own point of

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view—that of men bound in conscience and in honour to act for the best interests of the Church—been mistaken in rejecting so absolutely all the terms offered to them ; that they would have done better for the Church if they had accepted the restricted sovereignty which was offered to them ; that they have injured their own cause by making the claims of their Church so high and so enormous, as to increase the number of those who cannot persuade themselves to grant them. But it seems to me that those who hold this opinion take a lower, a narrower and shorter view of the matter in question than Pius the Ninth and his advisers. I think that they underrate the value of a principle as operative on the minds of men. An attempt at compromise and conciliation would not have secured the allegiance of minds not cast in the mould of those to whom authority is acceptable, and the acceptance of it possible ; while unbending and unfaltering consistency of principle is well calculated to secure and rivet the devotion and excite the zeal and enthusiasm of that class of minds, which, looking a little into the future, can alone be counted on as the supporters of any Church.

The Pope and his supporters have, I think, made a mistake in putting forward so prominently and insistantly the necessity that the Holy Father should have secure and free communication with the Bishops and the heads of the Church throughout the Catholic world as a reason why temporal sovereignty should be necessary to him. He absolutely refused throughout the negotiations, the course of which we have been tracing, to allow any difference to be established, even inferentially, between the Legations and the provinces nearer Rome, on the ground that all were equally his, and the wrong done by usurping any of them as absolutely a wrong as the usurpation of all. And this was the true ground to take. For it would have been very difficult to show—we may say, rather, impossible to maintain—that whereas the sovereignty of Rome and the district around the city could not secure the freedom of communication desired, the more extended sovereignty did so ! And it seems in truth an equally untenable position that the sovereignty of the city and its province would secure the freedom in question, whereas the *sovereignty* within his own residence does not accomplish the end in view. For the freedom

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of communication with foreign Bishops must depend not on the sovereignty in existence in the spot whence the communications are sent, but on that which exists in the country to which they are sent. Temporal sovereignty over the whole Catholic world would alone secure the freedom of communication desired. The communications, let them take what form they may, can as easily be intercepted at the point where they leave the papal territory, be it more or less extensive, as they can be on leaving the Vatican. They can also be intercepted at the entry into the territory of the sovereign under whose sway the Bishop, with whom it is desired to communicate, is residing. In a word, it cannot be maintained that any temporal sovereignty is needed for the purpose put forward, because no temporal sovereignty, short of one co-extensive with the Catholic world, would attain the end in view.

The sovereignty still enjoyed by the Holy Father was now reduced to Rome and the provinces immediately around it; if even he could be said to be sovereign there, while in truth the real masters were the French troops, which on the 6th October, 1860, occupied Viterbo, Velletri, Civita Castellana, Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, Albano, and Valmontone—every part, in short of the territory over which the Pope still nominally ruled. It is true their real object was to protect the Holy Father from the attempts and incursions of Garibaldi and his volunteers.

The result of the votation of the population of Umbria and the Marches on the question whether they would be annexed to the new kingdom of Italy and become subjects of Victor Emmanuel, or would remain subjects of the Pope, was in Umbria the record of 97,075 votes for the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel, and 380 for that of the Roman Pontiff; in the Marches, 133,783 for the former, and 1212 for the latter alternative. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the votes were not truly given as recorded; and there can be no question that the hatred for the Apostolic Government was very great, and the enthusiasm for the new kingdom of united Italy immense. But none the less was the "plebiscite" a farce, as such an attempt always must be; and the irony of Pius the Ninth, when he wrote to the King of Sardinia, that he would abstain from inquiring what his Majesty thought of universal

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suffrage, as well as from expressing his own opinion on the subject, was entirely justified.

How far Pius the Ninth and those in whose judgment he trusted were at the time able to foresee that no long time would elapse before he would be deprived of the remaining shred of territory which he still held, it is impossible to say. But he and they surely might have done so without any remarkable sagacity in reading the signs of the times. Various ideas were subsequently put forth by those who were anxious that the affairs of Italy should be finally and permanently settled in some not altogether intolerable fashion, and by some who were desirous of securing some remnant of sovereign authority for the Supreme Pontiff, with a view to such an arrangement. It was proposed that Rome itself should be made into a little sovereignty for his Holiness; then that his domain should be restricted to the "Leonine City," as it is called; that is to say, to that portion of the city which is on the right bank of the river, including the Vatican, Castel St. Angelo, and St. Peter's, together with a small portion only of the town. But, as might readily have been foreseen, all such schemes, even had they given much better promise of being practically realizable than they did, were foredoomed to failure, from the constancy with which the Pope refused to lend himself to any transaction or compromise whatever.

At the opening of the Piedmontese Parliament, on the 18th of February, 1861, Victor Emmanuel said in his address to the Houses: "In other circumstances my words were bold. But wisdom consists no less in daring at the right time, than knowing how to temporise on occasion. Devoted as I am to Italy, I have never hesitated to risk for her my life and my crown. But no man has a right to endanger the existence and the destinies of a nation."

This meant that any attempt to realize the national aspirations by seizing on Rome would be too dangerous in the then conditions of Europe; and that the nation must be content to wait yet awhile for that fulfilment of its desires. And on the 22nd of the following month, the French Legislature rejected by a majority of 246 votes against 5 a proposition for the immediate evacuation of Rome by the French troops.

But events were marching rapidly; and three days later, on

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the 25th of March, Cavour in the first sitting of the Deputies for the "Kingdom of Italy," of which Victor Emmanuel had accepted the sovereignty on the preceding 17th of the same month, said: "I consider myself obliged to proclaim in the most solemn manner before the nation the necessity of having Rome as the capital of Italy, because without Rome for the capital, Italy cannot be constituted. I have said, gentlemen," he repeated, "and I affirm yet once again, that Rome, and Rome only, can be the capital of Italy."

The Pontiff meantime, immediately on the promulgation of the law by virtue of which Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy, in a secret Consistory held on the 18th of that same month of March, after having described modern civilization in such terms as may be readily imagined, continued: "And this is the civilisation to which it is supposed that the Roman Pontiff can hold out a friendly hand! When that which is not right is demanded of us, we cannot grant the prayer. If instead, our pardon were asked for, we should be abundantly disposed to grant it!"

On the 30th of the following August, the Pope held another secret Consistory, in which he addressed the Sacred College in an allocution in which the following passage occurs:

"There is no man who does not see what a sequence of calamities, crimes, and evils of every kind has been let loose, especially on unhappy Italy, since the great and criminal rebellion committed there. For, to use the words of the prophet, malediction, falsehood, homicide, robbery, and adultery have inundated the world, and blood has been covered with blood! But inasmuch as we have the divine promise of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He will be with His Church even until the consummation of ages, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, we are sure that God will not fail in His word; and that the day will come when God shall show that this terrible tempest has not been raised to submerge the vessel of the Church, but on the contrary to exalt it."

A few months later the French Government made a renewed attempt to induce the Pope to consent to the opening of negotiations with a view to conciliation with the Italian Government. M. de Thouvenel writes to the French Ambassador at Rome, then M. de la Valette, in the following terms: "All that we have

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now to inquire is whether we may nourish, or whether we must abandon, the hope of seeing the Apostolic Court lend itself, while admitting *faits accomplis*, to the study of some combination which should assure to the Sovereign Pontiff such permanent conditions of dignity, of security, and independence as are necessary for the exercise of his power. This order of ideas once admitted, we would use our most sincere and most energetic efforts to cause such a plan of conciliation as we should arrange with the Holy See to be accepted at Turin."

And the Apostolic Government could have had no doubt as to the sincerity of the intention of France that the base and *sine qua non* of any such project should be the assurance of the temporal power of the Pope in that portion of his dominions which still remained to him. In the January of 1864 the legislative body of France rejected a proposal for the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome by 218 votes to 12! And on the 11th of November, 1866, after the convention, in accordance with which the Italian capital was moved to Florence, the French Minister writes to the French Ambassador at Rome: "The Emperor has always desired the independence of the Holy See, and that of Italy. Now that Italy is definitely constituted, the affirmation of the temporal power of the Pope becomes henceforward the main object of our efforts." And a few days later the Emperor sends General Fleury on a confidential mission to the Italian Court, charged to make the following "categorical declarations" to the King of Italy and his Ministers: "1st. The Emperor, both from regard for what is right and from political considerations, cannot abandon the Holy Father; and will employ all his efforts to prevent him from leaving Rome. 2nd. The Emperor is persuaded that the King both will and can keep all quiet in Italy; but if, when the French troops shall have left Rome, the Pope should be driven to withdraw by reason of a popular movement, the Emperor will not hesitate to bring him back by means of his army. And to this end he will always have a force of twenty thousand men between Toulon and Marseilles ready to be transported to Civita Vecchia at the first call."

There could be no doubt, in short, as to the wishes of the French Emperor and of the French nation with regard to the maintenance of what remained of the temporal power of the

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Pope, either in the minds of the Italians or in that of the Pontiff. Of course nobody imagines this policy and this determination was the result of religious principle, feeling, or conviction of any sort. It was the continuance of the same policy which led Napoleon to strive so perseveringly to induce Tuscany to declare its wish for Tuscan autonomy and a separate Tuscan Government. It was the same policy which led M. Thiers to say on the 14th of March, 1867, in the French Chamber: "If I had the honour of directing the affairs of France, I would employ all the forces at my command to prevent Italian unity." Again six days later the same statesman said to the same audience: "You have produced Italian unity, and it is a great misfortune." The complaints which were raised in the French Senate to the effect that the ideal of the Mediterranean becoming a French lake was now destroyed, are a further indication, if any such were needed, of the real wishes and feelings which moved France to insist on the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pontiff.

Nevertheless the course of the Emperor was not an easy or a clear one. As far back as the 30th May, 1862, the French Minister, M. de Thouvenel, directs the French Ambassador at Rome, when once again presenting to the Papal Government fresh propositions for an accord on the basis of the *status quo*, to "let the Papal Government understand, if you are met by the theory of immovability as categorically as heretofore—if, that is, the Pontiff persists in his *Non possumus*—that the Government of the Emperor cannot conform its conduct to any such theory; and that if the Emperor should unhappily acquire the conviction that his efforts would be henceforth useless, it would become necessary for him while guarding as far as possible the interests which he has been hitherto solicitous to protect, to take thought for coming out himself from a situation, which if prolonged beyond certain limits would give a wrong direction to his policy, and would only serve to throw the minds of the people into a yet greater disorder."

But the Pope and his little band of counsellors were as impervious to threats as to entreaties and promises. Alone during all the complicated negotiations of the years which intervened between the discomfiture of the papal troops at Castel Fidardo and Ancona, which limited the Pontiff's temporal power to

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Rome and its immediately surrounding provinces, and the entrance of the Italian army into Rome on the 20th of September, 1870, which finally put an end to it, the Holy Father remained absolutely the same and immovable! "We can't! We won't! We will listen to no proposals, no agreements! We will come to no terms with the spoiler and usurper. Do you come to announce to us that our provinces are to be restored to us, and that our enemies sue for our pardon? If so, we are ready to hear you and talk with you! But we can listen to nothing else!" From the time that the Italian monarch and nation accepted the votation which annexed the Legations to the Kingdom of Italy, to this present day, nothing has induced thePope to waver for an instant!

I have said that the negotiations which were going on during these years chiefly between Italy and France, with every now and then a fresh appeal to the Holy Father, which met with the same invariable answer, were complicated. And as regards the steps by which Italy gradually crept on towards her object, and the opposition, constant in its aim and views, varied in its means and degree of vehemence, which France opposed to that object, they were such—too much such by far for any detailed account of them to find its proper place in these pages. But the general drift of them all may be briefly characterised. France having victoriously fought to turn Austria out of Lombardy, because it seemed to her better that little Piedmont, which would never be made strong enough by the acquisition of that province to cause any umbrage to France, should possess it, and having figured before Europe and before her own people as the champion of Liberalism and progress against Austria, the champion of the opposite views and policy could not, as openly, avowedly, and straightforwardly as Austria would have done, support the Pope in his demands to be allowed to govern his states as he pleased. Yet, if she had taken Lombardy from Austria and given it to Piedmont, only to lay the foundation of a strong and powerful kingdom at her own doors, a rival Latin kingdom, she would, as Thiers saw and said, have made a very terrible mistake. Therefore the Pope had to be supported and protected, and the religious necessity of his temporal power put forward as the motive and excuse for giving him such support, not without difficulty and some shamefacedness. The Pope, too,

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made the difficulty of the part France had to play very provokingly great by his absolute and impracticable unyieldingness. France proposed to interfere to temper difficulties, to conciliate, to smooth the shocks and conjure the dangers incidental to such a change as was taking place in Italy. But she conciliated nothing and smoothed over no difficulties, because the Holy Father would not be conciliated, or even pretend to moderate his position by a hair's-breadth!

Italy, on the other hand, had her object clear before her; but she was not strong enough to venture to advance towards it in spite of French opposition; and she had at the same time to count with Garibaldi and the volunteers, and the seething excitement of the nation. And these things were at once an assistance and a source of embarrassment to her. They were an assistance inasmuch as they helped her to force Napoleon's hand, and formed an excuse for taking a more active part in seconding the aspirations of the nation than she could otherwise have ventured to do. But they were at the same time a source of embarrassment, in that there was real reason to fear that Garibaldi's success might have resulted in landing the nation, or at least the southern portions of it, in an anarchical republic, instead of a compact and orderly monarchy, and also that his temerities might have the effect of seriously embroiling the Government of Victor Emmanuel with the Emperor. And this is the explanation of the doubtful, sometimes inconsistent, and not straightforward conduct of the Turin Government towards the volunteers of Garibaldi—a line of conduct which the attitude of France rendered unavoidable, and the evil results of which have not by any means yet altogether ceased to vex the young nation.

The convention between Italy and France, by which it was arranged that Italy should undertake not to attack or to permit to be attacked, the territory of the Holy Father, that France should withdraw her troops from the pontifical dominions, and that Italy should move her capital to Florence, was signed on the 15th of September, 1864. And the Pontiff might have been tempted to acquiesce in that arrangement, which the contracting parties professed to consider, and which France doubtless intended should be, the definitive systemisation of Italy, as assuring to him the domains which remained

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to him, while finally destroying all hope of recovering those which he had lost. But he yielded to no such temptation. Then, as all through those weary years, he remained firm in his refusal to abandon one iota of his claim, or to consider the Government of the Sardinian King in the provinces beyond his old frontier, aught else than a wicked and lawless usurpation. To him alone, of all those who were more or less prominently concerned in arranging the affairs of Europe, did his course appear clear before him and unobscured by doubts and conflicting considerations. To each new application inviting him to come to terms with those who had it in their power to compel obedience to their wishes; to deign to modify his own system of Government in the States remaining to him in such sort as to render it more tolerable to those subjected to it, and less a disgrace in the face of Europe to those who were supporting it by force of arms; to accept guarantees for the continuance of his sovereignty in those portions of his dominions which he still held at the cost of relinquishing his demands for the restoration of those he had lost, he replied by a consistent, unmodified, unflinching refusal! *Non possumus!* We cannot do what is demanded of us! Our oaths, our duty to the Church, our duty to the universal body of the faithful forbid it! *Non possumus!*

But on considerations of prudence! For the sake of the Church! For the interests of the Papacy! The protection that now upholds the temporal power of the Holy See within its present restricted limits cannot, in the nature of things, be perpetual! And what will happen then? Would it not be better to make such concessions as may render it possible for us, your friends, to make arrangements to secure you against the certain overthrow which must overtake you, when that time comes, if no such arrangements be made?

To all such urgings and arguments Pius the Ninth replied, greatly to the astonishment and annoyance of the statesmen on both sides of the Alps who were endeavouring to arrange his affairs for him, in the spirit of a man who really does in earnest trust in God! There is nothing so *impracticable* as a man who trusts in God! A man warned by God in a dream (to the best of his belief) that certain numbers would win a prize in the lottery, continued to play on them with a trust so perfect that he beg-

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gared himself and his family. Pius the Ninth, however, while clearly perceiving that such an one was not justified in such a trust, and that his own case was a very different one, was equally inaccessible to all warnings of wordly prudence. "I know what my duty is in the matter! I walk forwards directly in the path of it, looking neither to the right nor the left—nor indeed to the future, save in the sure and certain knowledge of what that future will at an earlier or later day be! The gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—the Church, including of course the Sacred College and the sovereignty of Bologna, etc., etc., etc.! He said so over and over again during the attempts at negotiation of which we have been speaking; and he said so again only the other day.

What was the use of protocolling aud "having the honour to be," as Carlyle says, in dealing with such a man as this!

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CHAPTER XXVII.

CHEERFULNESS OF DISPOSITION OF PIUS THE NINTH.—HIS ECCLESIASTICAL ACTIVITY MORE IMPORTANT IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD THAN HIS EFFORTS AS A TEMPORAL PRINCE.—HAS BEEN A REALLY GREAT POPE.—THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF THE 8TH OF DECEMBER.—CHARACTER OF THIS DOCUMENT.—ITS STYLE.—NOTHING NEW IN THE DOCTRINES PROMULGATED.—POSITION OF THE CHURCH RELATIVELY TO THE WORLD.—EFFECT ON THIS OF THE SYLLABUS.—SPECIMEN PASSAGES FROM THE ENCYCLIC.—FORM OF THE SYLLABUS.—HEADINGS OF THE DIVISIONS OF IT.—THE SYLLABUS CONTAINS NO NEW MATTER.—ALLOCUTIONS ON WHICH THE SYLLABUS IS BASED.—SPECIMEN PASSAGE OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF AN ALLOCUTION.—THE SYLLABUS PRODUCED GREATER EFFECT THAN THE ALLOCUTIONS, AND WHY.—THE GIST OF THE SYLLABUS.—QUESTION WHETHER THE CHURCH INJURED HER OWN INTERESTS BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE ENCYCLIC AND THE SYLLABUS.

INASMUCH as the support and comfort which a trust in God is so uniquely calculated to bestow depend in nowise on the reasonableness, but wholly on the genuineness and sincerity of the trust, Pius the Ninth has, throughout the misfortunes which have in so extraordinary a degree marked his pontificate, been eminently blessed by a calm and tranquil mind and heart and a cheerful spirit. The heathen raged together, and the people imagined a vain thing; but he doubted not that he, or his successors, would in the name of the Lord destroy them and their work! But this tranquil confidence has never in the Pontiff's case degenerated, as it is often wont to do, into inertness, acquiescence in evil, and—if the vulgarity of the metaphor may be pardoned on the score of its aptness—throwing up the sponge!

Activity is a part of the law of the present Pope's nature. His good qualities and his weaknesses contribute to make it so. He hates to be idle; and he hates to be out of sight. Sleeping behind the coulisses would not suit him at all! He wants to act his part; and he wants to be on the stage with all the glare

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of the foot-lights on him and in the full sight of the house. But his activity, as the occupations and duties of a temporal ruler were taken from him, necessarily and naturally centred itself more and more in the exercise of his spiritual functions. And accordingly the story of his life is from this time forward a more strictly and entirely ecclesiastic one.

It was but too clear to the mind of Pius the Ninth that "the times were out of joint;" but there is no evidence in his conduct or in his recorded utterances of any such weakness as might have led him to deem it a "a cursed spite that he was ever born to set them right." On the contrary, there is the most remarkable evidence that he deemed it to be his especial duty to do so, and in nowise doubted his capacity and capabilities for the task.

His efforts to accomplish the duty thus set before him have been most notable, and, as usual, unflinching and uncompromising: and the record of these efforts forms by very far the most important portion of the story of his life. The history of his efforts, first of all to be a beneficent temporal ruler, and, when that was found to be impossible, to preserve *quand même* the temporal authority, which he believed it to be his duty to maintain intact, are of comparatively temporary interest and importance. *Lis judicata est.* And though Rome naturally will not admit that it is so, and though the Pontiff may personally have in all its fulness the faith he professes to have in the reversal of the judgment that seems to have been pronounced, it may be supposed that the wisest of the rulers of the Catholic Church have little expectation of any such quashing of the sentence that has been passed; and future Pontiffs may well, and probably will, find reason to be of the opinion that their successorship to the great Apostle does not necessarily require them to pretend to any material kingship, and that the interests of their Church may best be served by making their Bishopric wholly and solely one of souls.

But it will be very difficult indeed for any future successor in the Chair of Peter to recede from any of the positions taken up by Pius the Ninth, in the war which he has proclaimed between the Church and the world. He has in doing this placed himself on his true ground. We may meet him on it. We may take part with the world, and fight him and his inch by inch; but

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we cannot insist that he has no *locus standi*. We cannot put him out of court with a declaration that his claim is one which ought never to have been made. And in taking sides in this matter, there ought to be no shirking of the question, "Under which king, Bezonian?" We must, if we take our stand with the world against the Church, do so avowedly and knowingly.

Pius the Ninth has done a great thing! He has brought his generation unmistakably to the forking of the ways. He could not be let to be a great king, so he determined to be a great Pope; and he has become a greater Pope than almost any one of his predecessors! It is not all mere flattery that has prompted the immense admiration and reverence that has incensed him to a degree one may probably say never seen before. Much has sprung no doubt from the circumstances of struggle and defeat in which he has been placed, but not all—not the greater part of the exceeding reverence in which he is held by the understanding members of his own communion.

It was on the 8th of December, 1864, that the world was startled by the first trumpet-note of the spiritual warfare that the Pope, beaten at all points in his character of temporal king, was minded to wage with mankind. It came in the form of an Encyclical letter, addressed to "All our Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops in grace and communion with the Apostolic See." This is the celebrated Encyclic, which was accompanied by the yet more celebrated "SYLLABUS COMPLECTENS PRÆCIPUOS NOSTRÆ ÆTATIS ERRORES, QUI NOTANTUR IN ALLOCUTIONIBUS CONSISTORIALIBUS, IN ENCYCLICIS ALIISQUE APOSTOLICIS LITTERIS SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII PAPÆ IX."

The Encyclical Letter consists of about twelve such pages as those of this volume; while that meaning which it wishes to convey to its readers might be set forth in the half of one of them. The style of the Curia Romana is well known to all who have had occasion to consult the documents on which much of the history of the Church is based. It is always the same; and no one could read a dozen lines of one of those compositions without recognising it. The compiler, whose duty it is to express the ideas which the Holy See thinks fit to put forth to the world, in the language deemed proper for that purpose, is evidently a person educated *ad hoc*. Probably it may be he who fills the

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position of "Secretary for the Latin Briefs." But in any case the composition of these documents is a speciality, and reveals the hand of an expert.

The first impression produced by the perusal of the famous Encyclic is surprise that it should have caused such a commotion in the world. It contains nothing that one did not very well know before to be the view and opinions held by the authors of it. Nay, it contains nothing that does not logically, legitimately, and necessarily follow from the fundamental positions which the Church holds; and to be entirely honest it must be owned that it would be a far more difficult task for the members of some other Christian communions to show why they object to any of the teaching of the Encyclic, than for those of the Roman Catholic Church to defend their adherence to it! If there be certain truths, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for the eternal welfare of mankind, and is possessed by a certain body of men with a degree of certainty which precludes all possibility of error, and by them alone, all the rest that the Church of Rome maintains, claims, teaches, and does, is duly maintained, fairly claimed, judiciously taught, and well done! If there be certain men on earth who have a knowledge of the will and purposes of the Creator, of a kind and degree unattainable save by the members of their caste, ought not those men to be the kings and rulers of the world? What trash are parliaments, and public opinion, and *vox populi*, and all the rest of it, from St. Stephen's down to a select vestry, if we have got among us some individuals who can and will tell us truly what is God's will in the matter! Just such useless and pernicious trash as the Popes have always assured us that they are!

All the countless tons of superfluous logomachy which have destroyed good paper and load the shelves of libraries, consist only of developments of their primal thesis, together with statements accumulated for the purpose of showing that men have at different times admitted the claims based on it, on the one side, and on the other side of efforts to dilute or veil with more or less of self-consciousness and clear-sightedness the only one possible answer to the pretensions of Rome; which is, "We do not believe one word of the statements you make as to your possession of the knowledge on which you base your claims!"

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And the reason why the nations were made so angry by the new Encyclic, and why many churchmen deemed the issue of it to be unwise, was that it advances a strong step towards forcing these truths on the attention of the world. The new document is of the nature of the tearing down of a veil, hung up for decency, comfort, and the convenience of all parties! There is in general nothing that the world so much detests and resents as the tearing down of its veils. Not that the Encyclic does this thoroughly, entirely, or intentionally. But it is a step towards it. It is like the touch of earnest introduced by some rather too eager playmate into a child's game of romps, and which leads some of the party startled and discomposed, to declare that if that sort of thing is to be done they "won't play." Surely they all know that the Pope and his Church meant all the things he says that he means in this document, but they had not been used to his saying so in so crude a manner!

"It is impious and absurd to maintain that a civil government ought not to make it a part of its duty to compel its subjects by penalties to observe the true religion." Well! granted the fundamental position of the Church, it is so. Liberty of conscience, and of religion, and of manifesting opinion on these subjects by means of speaking, writing and printing, is denounced as most fatal to the Catholic Church and the salvation of souls. And men in preaching this doctrine "do not consider that they are preaching a liberty of perdition," as St. Augustine calls it. Of course they are, *if* what the Church says is true. The Encyclic, as is constantly the case in the utterances of the Church, seems to be begging the question. But of course the Church must always assume the real gist of the question to be begged and granted.

In some passages of the Encyclic—though nothing is said, and no pretence put forward which is new in principle—doctrines are enunciated with an especial view to recent circumstances. For instance: "Because the true idea of justice and human law is obscured and lost, and material force takes the place of justice and of true right wheresoever religion is banished from civil society, it is clearly to be seen wherefore certain men, setting at nought the most certain principles of sound reason, dare to publish that the will of the people, manifested by that which they choose to call public opinion, or in any other

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manner, constitute a law which is supreme and independent of all divine and human right, and that in the political world accomplished facts acquire the force of right merely because they are accomplished." Of course it is more than sufficiently clear what special wickedness it was which was vexing the heart of the Pontiff when this sentence was penned. But the process of reasoning which hooks the conclusion and the premises together is somewhat difficult to be seized save by the light of a highly-condensed enthymematic method. The same remark may be made on the following passage: "Who does not see," says the Pontiff, "who does not perfectly well feel that a community withdrawn from the laws of religion and of true justice can have no other object than to amass and accumulate riches, or any other law in all its acts than an indomitable desire to satisfy its passions, and to procure for itself enjoyments? That is the reason why men of this sort pursue with a bitter hatred the religious orders, taking no account of the immense services rendered by them to religion, to society, and to literature. That is why they rage against them, saying that there is no legitimate reason for their existence, thus echoing the calumnies of the heretics."

There would be little interest in any further examination of this celebrated document. There is, as has been said, absolutely nothing new in it; and the declaration of the irreligious tendencies of the age is set forth not only without the smallest attempt at anything in the nature of eloquence, but with a superfluity of verbiage that absolutely buries the meaning under it. I will, however, transcribe a few lines—in pity for the reader they shall be but few!—absolutely taken at hazard from this document, as a specimen of the peculiar style of the Curia Romana, and of the curious method of the wrappages in which Rome envelopes her communications with the outer world.

"Et quoniam ubi a civili societate fuit amota religio, ac repudiata divinæ revelationis doctrina et auctoritas, vel ipsa germana justitiæ humanique juris notio tenebris obscuratur et amittitur, atque in veræ justitiæ legitimique juris locum, materialis substituitur vis, inde liquet cur nonnulli, certissimis sanæ rationis principiis penitus neglectis posthabitisque, audeant conclamare, voluntatem populi, publica, quam dicunt, opinione vel alia ratione manifestatam, constituere supremam legem ab

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omni divino humanoque juri solutam, et in ordine politico facto consummata, eo ipso quod consummata sunt, vim juris habere."

There ! I did not purpose giving the reader so much of it, but could not sooner reach a full stop. The sample is a perfectly trustworthy one; and the entire mass is perfectly homogeneous.

The ratification with which the document concludes is worthy of note, It runs thus :—

"Given in Rome at St. Peter's on the 8th day of December, in the year 1864, the tenth from the Dogmatic Definition of the Immaculate Conception of the God-bearing Virgin Mary, the nineteenth year of our Pontificate. Pius Ninth, Pope."

The more important document, however, is the "Syllabus, embracing the principal errors of our time," which accompanied the Encyclic. This Syllabus consists of a collection of eighty propositions, which are formally condemned and anathematised. They are formulated in such sort that it is to be understood that the contradictory proposition is affirmed. Thus the second proposition (it is much shorter than the first) runs thus: "Neganda est omnis Dei actio in homines et mundum." "All action of God on mankind and on the world is to be denied." The meaning being that the Church condemns the assertion or opinion that God does not exercise any action on man or on the world. But this backward mode of stating her meaning leads the Church into logical difficulties; the contradictory to the proposition in question being, "Neganda non est omnis," etc., or, *every* action of God is to be affirmed, which is assuredly not what the Church means to assert. But the real intention of the author of the Syllabus will be most clearly arrived at by supposing the words, "It is not true that," to be prefixed to each proposition gibbeted.

The eighty condemned positions are ranged under ten headings or categories. The first of these is *Pantheismus, Naturalismus, et Rationalismus absolutus.*" Pantheism, Naturalism, and and absolute Rationalism, containing seven propositions. 2. "Moderate Rationalism," with seven propositions. 3. "Indifferentism and Latitudinarianism," with four propositions. 4. "Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Liberal Clerical Societies," the whole of which are condemned in one compendious proposition, which runs thus, and must be

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taken as an exception to that rule for the interpretation of the Syllabus which has been laid down above: "Pests of this sort have been frequently reprobated and with very grave forms of words in"—such and such utterances of the Pope duly referred to. 5. "Errors concerning the Church and its Rights," containing twenty propositions, the first affirming the independence of the Church on the State. 6. "Errors relative to Civil Society and to the relation of Civil Society with the Church," with fifteen propositions. 7. "Errors concerning Natural and Christian Ethics," with nine propositions. 8. "Errors concerning Christian Marriage," with ten propositions. 9. "Errors concerning the Temporal Dominion of the Roman Pontiff," with two propositions; and lastly, 10. "Errors referring to modern Liberalism," with four propositions.

Now this Syllabus, containing these eighty anathematised propositions, is entitled "A Syllabus comprising the principal errors of our time, which are noted in the Consistorial Allocutions, Encyclical and other Apostolic letters of our most Holy Lord Pope Pius the Ninth." And the Syllabus has been printed in a volume, together with all the allocutions and letters in which Pius the Ninth had already anathematised, and as he with somewhat less accuracy says, confuted the errors in question. So that, in truth, he not only says nothing more in his Syllabus than the Church was well known to hold, but nothing more than he himself had previously at different periods authoritatively declared. And it seems at first sight strange that, such being the case, the publication of the Syllabus should have profoundly disturbed the complacency of Europe! But an examination of the volume mentioned will diminish this surprise. References are provided to enable the reader to refer to the passage or passages in which each special proposition is to be found condemned. And in each case something will be found in the interminable and incredibly wordy productions referred to bearing on the subject; something doubtless in which the same judgment as that formulated in the Syllabus is to be found. But in the first place, no lay human being had ever read the allocution and letters in question. And in the second place, it is the concentration of the sacerdotalism in the Syllabus which produced the stunning effect of it. An amount of carbonic acid gas may be mixed with the atmosphere with no greater

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result than the production of a slight evil smell, which if gathered within narrow limits will knock a man down! And it was precisely in this way and for this reason that the world was knocked down by the papal Syllabus.

In order that the reader may see the sort of relationship which the Syllabus bears to the papal utterances on which it is based, and at the same time have a specimen of the sort of ratiocination and nexus of ideas that are to be found in these papal letters and allocutions, I will give the passage referred to in support of the condemnation of the error, which consists in affirming that the celibacy of the clergy ought to be abolished. It occurs in an Encyclic letter to the Episcopacy of the Church, issued on the 9th of November, 1846—a few months, that is to say, after his election.

The Holy Father has been pointing out that the object of the Secret Societies was the destruction of all religion; and having then remarked that "the horrible system" of believing that men may be saved in any religion tends to the same end, he thus proceeds: "To the same end tends that most foul conspiracy against the sacred celibacy of the clergy, which is cherished—oh grief!—by some ecclesiastics even, who, miserably forgetful of their own dignity, suffer themselves to be conquered and lulled by the snares and blandishments of pleasure. To the same end tends that perverse method of teaching, especially in philosophic studies, which deceives improvident youth in a miserable manner, corrupts them, and gives them to drink the gall of the dragon in the cup of Babylon—'*ei fel draconis in calice Babylonis propinat.*' To this same end tends that infamous doctrine of Communism, as they call it, which is absolutely opposed even to natural justice, and which once admitted the rights, goods, and property of everybody, and human society itself, is wholly overturned." Etc., etc., etc.

But no further word is heard of the celibacy of the clergy. The abominable doctrine that clerical celibacy should be abolished is said to be *confuted.* One turns to the passage in the expectation of finding at least a statement of the views of the Church upon the subject, if not some attempt at meeting the objections which have been urged on so many grounds against it. But one finds no word of anything of all this, literally nothing, save that passing allusion, before the Holy Father

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rambles on to other subjects, which are connected by the thread of his discourse only as beads are by the string that holds them together.

Take the next sentence in the original Latin as a specimen of these pontifical utterances, which have availed to move the world and constitute their author a gaeat Pope. The fact that the lines to be transcribed are a true and honest specimen of these letters and allocutions, and the extremely curious nature of the style and manner of the composition, must be the excuse for placing before the reader a page full of such unutterably tedious verbiage.

"Huc denique" (to the destruction of religion), ut cætera quæ Vobis apprime nota ac perspecta sunt, omittamus, teterrima tot undique volantium, et peccare, docentium voluminum ac libellorum contagio, qui arte compositi, ac fallaciæ et artificii pleni, immanibusque sumptibus per omnia loca in christianæ plebis interitum dissipati, pestiferas doctrinas ubique disseminant, incautorum potissimum mentes animosque depravant, et maxima, religioni inferunt detrimenta. Ex hac undique serpentium errorum colluvie, atque effrenata cogitandi, loquendi, scribendique licentia mores in deterius prolapsi, sanctissima Christi spreta religio, divini cultus improbata majestas, hujus Apostolicæ Sedis divexata potestas, Ecclesiæ oppugnata atque in turpem servitutem redacta auctoritas, Episcoporum jura conculcata, matrimonii sanctitas violata, cujusque potestatis regimen labefactum, ac tot alia tum christianæ, tum civilis reipublicæ damna, quæ communibus lachrymis una vobiscum plere cogimur, Venerabiles Fratres."

Exhibitions of this compound administered to the world in doses of from ten to twenty pages at a time had not much stirred it. And it was only the concentration of the doctrinal theories to be gathered from a very large quantity of it that did succeed in startling the outside world. The allocutions of the 27th of September, 1852, and the 15th December, 1856, attracted no particular attention. But the proposition affirmed, it should seem, in both of them, to the effect that, "it is not true that the *forum ecclesiasticum* for the decision of the temporal causes of the clergy, whether civil or criminal, ought to be abolished, even without consulting the Holy See, and against its desire," is certainly calculated to give pause to a modern

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legislator. It is not a little alarming too, though no doubt one has heard it before, and, as we here learn, the present Pope himself had affirmed it on the 30th September, 1861, to hear it laid down as an active principle to be observed in the world of the nineteenth century, that the ecclesiastical power ought to exercise its authority without the permission and assentment of the civil government. We find also that it is a damnable error to maintain that "the Church has not the right to employ force, and that she has no temporal power direct or indirect, or that the Sovereign Pontiff and the Œcumenical Councils have overpassed the limits of this power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even erred in their definition of faith and morals."

In a word, that which I have said above of the Encyclic may be said yet more emphatically of the Syllabus. It is a declaration that the world has been mistaken in its idea that the Church was disposed to allow some of the more preposterous of its claims on mankind tacitly to sink into oblivion; that, on the contrary, Rome intends to insist on them with more earnestness than ever. *Multa renascuntur quæ jam cecidere!* And, as it has been elsewhere expressed, all the old rusted weapons in the Pope's arsenal are furbished up and called into modern use. Of course the champions of the Court of Rome will not admit that these weapons have ever fallen into desuetude. No authority will ever admit that of powers which it has always itself been conscious of possessing. But, on the other hand, it is not true that any claims or theories altogether new have been put forward (at least so far as the Syllabus is concerned), or now for the first time declared to be *de fide*. It is merely a declaration that the Church wholly declines to take any acconnt of all that progress and all those circumstances which have contributed during the last eighty years to change the relationship between the world and the Church; that for its own part it stands, and purposes to stand, just where it did three, six, or nine hundred years ago; that such being the case, it summons the world to shape and fashion itself into such a form and semblance as shall fit it to live in due harmony and correspondence with such a Church, or failing to do so, to take the consequences, comprising absolute political deadlock, incapability and ruin, in this world, as well as the prescribed penalties in the next.

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It is the uncompromising and thoroughly frank nature of this demand that has startled the world, and caused statesmen to doubt whether Pope Pius in his earnestness and craving activity has not done more to injure the Church than any one of his predecessors for many generations past.

I am, for my own part, much disposed to doubt the correctness of such an opinion. Churchmen of the old school cannot persuade themselves that those, who assure the Church that she is and will be the stronger for the loss of her temporal power, are speaking honestly and sincerely. They consider all such assurances as the scarcely veiled mockeries of triumphant enemies. But they do not sufficiently consider that the same causes which gradually, but very rapidly in the course of this nineteenth century, made it clear that it would not long be possible for the Popes to continue to be temporal sovereigns, rendered this power, while it lasted, a source of weakness to them. Nor, as regards the Encyclic and the Syllabus, do they, who deem the publication of those trumpet-tongued defiances to the world to have been a suicidal step, sufficiently bear in mind that although that step was taken before the last remnant of the temporal power had been finally stripped from the Pontiff, it was taken at a time when it was already abundantly clear that the temporal crown was doomed, and that the Church was at bay among its enemies. And when it is considered what the course of events must necessarily have been if the Apostolic See had at that time adopted a conciliatory, a moderate, or even a temporising line of conduct, it will be seen that upon the whole, pulling off the mask (for during all the easy-going time the Church had worn a mask), hoisting the true colours, recognising as enemies all who were not true friends was the best policy that Rome could have adopted.

But a still stronger, a more remarkable and a more memorable step in the same direction was coming; and the attempt to estimate the strength and the weakness of the position which the Church made for itself by these acts, to which the consideration of the Encylic and the Syllabus invites us, may be advantageously deferred till we come to speak of the Œcumenical Council.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

EXPECTATIONS OF THE POPE AFTER CASTEL FIDARDO.—PIUS NOT CONTENTED WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY LEFT TO HIM.—EFFECTS OF THE ENCYCLIC AND SYLLABUS.—DETERMINATION TO SUMMON A COUNCIL.—ADVICE OF THE SACRED COLLEGE.—DETERMINATION OF PIUS TO ACT IN OPPOSITION TO IT.—WHO WERE HIS SUPPORTERS AND ADVISERS.—THE JESUITS.—SOCIETY FOR UPHOLDING THE INFALLIBILITY DOCTRINE.—PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE OF THE CHURCH MANIFESTED BY THE JESUITS.—CHARACTER OF PIUS FAVOURABLE TO THE PLANS OF THE COMPANY.—WHETHER THE JESUITS JUDGED RIGHTLY FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE CHURCH.

ALTHOUGH a larger view of the general tendencies of Europe than an inhabitant of the Vatican could reasonably be expected to attain to, might have availed to assure the Pontiff that the days of his temporal power were numbered, it is probable that he may have continued during the ten years that elapsed between the defeat of Castel Fidardo on the 18th of September, 1860, and the entry of the Italian troops into Rome on the 20th of September, 1870, to believe that he would be allowed to remain Sovereign over the small dominion left to him. As regards the confidence in the purposes of Providence which Pius expressed so remarkably in his letter to the almoner of his troops on the eve of the Castel Fidardo campaign—saying, "We have a firm faith that the Church will always triumph, and that God will either bring back its enemies into the path of salvation, *or* will crush and exterminate them!"—he might and doubtless did and does preserve his confidence in the ultimate designs of Providence in this respect; but the issue of the campaign on which he entered with the expression of those hopes must have sufficed to teach him that Providence could not be counted upon for any intention to preserve him, Pius the Ninth, personally in the enjoyment of his kingship.

But if the prophetical promises of Holy Scripture were found to be, however certain, too vague to convey any reliable assurance with regard to the more immediate and terrestrial desti-

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nies of the Papacy, there were the promises of Napoleon the Third, which seemed more definite. Of these promises, however, seasoned by the exhortations which accompanied them, the Holy Father had had many. And even so late as the close of 1866, the Emperor, on sending General Fleury to Rome on a confidential mission, declared categorically: "The Emperor, in consideration of what is right as well as on account of political interests, can never abandon the Holy Father; and will use all his efforts to prevent him from leaving Rome." And further onin the same document: "If nevertheless, when the French troops shall have departed, the Pope should be obliged to withdraw from Rome in consequence of a popular tumult, the Emperor would not hesitate to bring him back by means of his troops." It is true that the Emperor had not interfered by force to prevent the Holy Father from being stripped of the Legations and, a second time, of Umbria, and the Marches in 1860. Nevertheless there is little reason to doubt that, had the Emperor himself not fallen, he would have supported his *protégé* the Pope by force of arms against all the power the Italians could have brought against him. For his "political interest," as he and France understood it, required that the Pope should be kept at Rome for the purpose of preventing the consolidation of Italian unity. And it needed no less a revolution in the European world than the absolute destruction of the power of France to render that consummation possible.

But the preservation of the little shred of sovereignty that was left to him, even if its permanency had been ever so thoroughly assured, by no means contented the Holy Father or those around him. The position which the sovereignty of such a State made for him in Europe was far from being such as to satisfy one ambitious of a much more brilliant and important *rôle*. Nor was the Pontiff or the Church in the slightest degree disposed to abandon the hope of a reversal of all that had been done in Europe since 1848, or perhaps even since 1789. And the best means of remedying both these sources of discontent was to be found in pursuing the path which the publication of the Encyclic and the Syllabus had opened.

For the emotion which had been occasioned by the publication of those memorable documents did not prove to be as transitory as might perhaps at first sight have been expected.

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On the contrary, it seemed as if it required some little time for lay Europe to appreciate at their true value the declarations of doctrine and the claims put forward by those manifestoes. It was not immediately that the world realized the fact that Rome really intended in a practical spirit and in earnest to advance claims, the result of admitting which would be that, whether the Roman Pontiff possessed any temporal sovereignty or not, he would exercise such a sovereignty over the entirety of mankind that no other Sovereign or Government could call or deem itself independent of him! Gradually this seems to have become manifest to the lay mind of Europe. And the result was a chorus of exclamations that the Pope had now done for himself!—that it was suicidal!—that "quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat!"—that this wonderful Pope, who had already set at nought all the traditions of the Papacy by holding it for a longer time than the twenty-five years of St. Peter, would be the last of his line, because of the inconceivable audacity with which he had thrown down the glove in token of war to the knife with a power—that of the modern spirit and civilization of mankind—against which he must needs dash himself to pieces!

Despite this chorus, however, which was by no means confined to the non-Catholic portion of Europe, or to the enemies of the Church, the Holy Father determined, under the very remarkable circumstances to be more particularly adverted to presently, to take another and a yet more startling and remarkable step in the same direction. In the summer of the year 1867, there were an unusual number of Bishops assembled in Rome for the celebration of the centenary of the martyrdom of St. Peter; and the Pontiff availed himself of the occasion to announce in public consistory his intention of summoning an Œcumenical Council, with the object of "providing a remedy required by the evils with which the Church is affected." On the following 1st of July, in another allocution he a second time announced his intention. Before definitively taking the step he had thus announced, however, he consulted the Sacred College on the two-fold question. "An sit necessarium?" "An oporteat?" —"Is it—the Council—necessary?" "Is it fitting?" To both questions the Cardinals gave a negative reply. The Sacred College was of opinion that it was neither necessary nor desi-

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rable to call an Œcumenical Council at that time. Whereupon the Holy Father proceeded to realize his purpose just as if the Sacred College had replied in a sense exactly the reverse of that in which they had replied!

That is a very remarkable circumstance! The line of conduct thus adopted by Pius the Ninth was one of extreme audacity and hardihood. It would seem to indicate a strength of character, a power of standing alone, which very few men possess. Let it be remembered what the calling of an Œcumenical Council is and involves, and what the relationship between the Pope and the body of Cardinals. The Sacred College is the appointed Council of the Pontiff. That office is the sole *raison d'être* of such a hieratic order. Without them, according to all ecclesiastical theory, the Pope would stand absolutely alone and isolated. And as regards the welfare of the Church, the calling of an Œcumenical Council is by very far the most important act that a Pontiff can do! It is an act from which most Popes have shrunk—from very unworthy motives it may be said. And it may be argued that the Pope who desires and spontaneously calls together a Council of the Church, must at least feel the assurance that he can meet the Universal Church with a clear conscience and a heart fearless in its undoubting rectitude. And the argument is a cogent one. Nevertheless it is not always or only the upright who rush in where wise men have feared to tread! And those who have feared the assembling of that awful body, the world-wide Council of the Universal Church, have been, if not among the best of men, assuredly among the wisest of all who were not among the best. But Pius the Ninth not only did not fear the assembling of a Council, but ardently desired it; and not only desired it, but determined to have it, despite the advice and adverse opiuion of the only body of men appointed by the Church to assist him with their counsel. Think—looking at the matter from a papal point of view—of the consequences that may flow from the causes which are set in motion by the meeting of an Œcumenical Council! Think of the responsibility of him who not only decides upon taking such a step, but decides upon it on his own sole will and judgment, in direct opposition to the opinion and advice of his appointed counsellors!

Now, was Pius the Ninth the man to play such a part? Was

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he a man of exceptional hardihood and strength of character? Was he one gifted with that rare degree of self-reliance and superiority to the judgments and opinions of other men, which alone could prompt such a line of conduct? Surely he was one of the last men from whom that might be expected! Surely, if ever there was a man who lived on and for the favouring breath of others, Pius is he! Never was there a man who showed less of self-reliant, self-contained strength! Of tenacity, called by his friends conscientious firmness, and by his enemies, less fairly, mule-like obstinacy, he has shown abundance, supported as he has been by the enthusiastic and admiring adherence of his own world. But this last clause may fairly be considered a *sine qua non* in considering the Pope's actions and general line of conduct. He is a man of all others who needs the support of approbation from those around him.

And yet he is the man who takes one of the biggest and most pregnant resolutions which a mortal man can take, not only without the approbation, but in defiance of the advice and wishes of those who are his official counsellors, and moreover are the world, to whose opinion he is—or ought to be—most amenable!

Surely the explanation of the phenomenon is that he did *not* stand alone, when he came to the decision of summoning the Council in despite of the opposition of the Sacred College. Though he thus slighted the opinions of those to whose opinions he ought to have been most amenable, there must have been others to whose advice and opinion he was in fact more amenable. It cannot be that Pius the Ninth stood all alone, self-contained and self-reliant, facing a world in opposition to him, when he took this great step. He must have had support, and of a valid kind. Who were his supporters? Probably there is not a member of his own Church who would be at a moment's loss for the reply. They were the Jesuits. He acted under the influence of the Fathers of "the Company," in opposition to the counsel of his more constitutional advisers! That the celebrated "Company" should thus take a line of its own, and one opposed to the policy of the secular Church, is quite in accordance with all the traditions of its history, and on this occasion at least was one perfectly intelligible to the meanest capacity. A curious little phenomenon, which was scarcely visible to the

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naked eye outside the pale of the Church, manifested itself in that same year, 1867, and was recognised by all those acquainted with such matters as indicating beyond danger of mistake the workmanship of a Jesuit craftsman.

A new "religion" was invented. The word is still used by the peoples of Latin stock in the old sense. When they speak of a new "religion" they mean a new *observance*, or method of doing something for the promotion of zeal in themselves and others on behalf of the old religion. Many new religions have been invented of late years, and have been found exceedingly successful in promoting the objects for which they were initiated. And in each case the Jesuit body has been the inventor who earned the gratitude of the Church. Now, the new religion which suddenly appeared in the devout world in 1867, consisted in "offering to God a formal vow to profess and defend the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, *usque ad effusionem sanguinis*,"—even unto the shedding of your blood for it! All the well-known means for pushing, propagating, and popularising this invention to such an extent as should cause it to be powerfully operative on public opinion were put in action. Societies, affiliated one to the other, were formed. The members undertook to circulate books advocating the doctrine, which was the special object of the society, and to do their utmost to suppress such as should have a contrary tendency. France especially was inundated with little ornamental cards, on which the rules of the society were printed, and the possession of which indicated membership. The Holy Father addressed briefs of felicitation to prominent persons, who took a leading part in the society. And it is very remarkable that, despite the general condemnation of secret societies by the Church, this papal infallibility society was a secret society. Probably the secrecy attached to membership was not very profound, and was due mainly to the thoroughly Jesuitical idiosyncrasy which estimates—perhaps not too highly—the value of professed secrecy as a means of acting on the popular imagination. It may be, however, that it was not considered desirable to attract the attention of outsiders prematurely to the preparations for the grand transformation scene that was being got up for the astonishment of the world.

As for the rulers of the Church, to whichever party in it they

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belonged, whether to that which has come to be, with very sufficient accuracy, known as Ultramontane—the word being supposed to be used by one on the northern side of the Alps—or to their opponents, whether known as "Old Catholics," *i.e.* nonconformists to the novelties engendered by the Council, or as liberal Catholics, they all no doubt were well aware of the main and real object for which the Council was desired. And the amount of opposition which was manifested to the project in the Church, especially out of Italy (though there also, as has been seen, the highest and most important body in the Church had pronounced against it), was such that the unflinching carrying out of the purpose in spite of it, shows in a very striking manner the exceedingly perfect knowledge which its authors the Jesuits must have possessed, if not in a larger sense of the world, of mankind, and of human nature, yet unmistakably of the Church, of churchmen, and of sacerdotal nature.

What was wanted was by a successful vote of the Universal Church to cause a doctrine, involving a more grovelling, more degrading, and more dangerous superstition than any which "the ages of faith" had invented or tolerated, to be adopted as a constituent part of the Catholic faith, now in the midst of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the breakdown of faith under the burthen of doctrinal requirements already too heavy for the world's capacity of believing, and by a Church all the salt of which, all that was best in which, was known to be utterly opposed to the doctrine in question! Who would not have said that the attempt was an entirely—a monstrously-impossible one! The Jesuits judged otherwise. They were fully and accurately aware of the amount of opposition, of the number of recalcitrants, of the effect which the promulgation of the new doctrine would have on the minds of mankind. But they thought the thing might be done notwithstanding. They were of opinion that it could be carried; and they were right? No doubt they trusted much to the overpowering dread of causing a schism which might be little less than a death-blow to the Church; and yet more to the wonderful perfection of discipline which the organisation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy has produced. But the best card in their hand, the circumstance which above all others rendered the present a fitting moment for the attempt, was the character of the reigning Pontiff.

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A man whose powers of believing were unlimited by any exercise of the intellectual faculty, as shown in the "definition" of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception; a man whose imaginative power was sufficient to render the attribute to be claimed for him seductive to his fancy, but not sufficient to represent to him the montrosity and absurdity of it; a man balked in his first attempts at attitudinising on the world's scene in the part of hero of the piece to be played in his day, and tormented by the desire to distinguish himself in that ecclesiastic world which alone remained to him, eager for some *rôle* which should bring him with sufficient prominence before the eyes of his generation, thirsting for the forehead-to-earth reverence of his contemporaries, capable of believing that God-like qualities had been bestowed on him, and not feeling that there was any antecedent improbability that they should be so; this surely was of all others the man for the purposes of the Fathers of the Company?

In contradiction to all that might have been previously supposed, the Jesuits were right in their estimate of the possibility of causing the Church to accept the measure. May it not be that they are equally right in believing, in opposition to the opinion held by the far largest portion of the educated part of mankind, that the measure in question will be found to act favourably rather than the reverse for the interests of their Church? It will alienate some persons from their communion. But is there not reason to think that such persons would not have long remained to them, or at all events would not have been of much use to them under any circumstances? When some general, of whom history tells, halted his army before advancing to some arduous enterprise, and after explaining to his men all the difficulty and the danger of the task before them, announced that all those who felt no inclination to go forward, were at full liberty to go back, his force was none the weaker for the weeding that was the result. And when a hard fight has to be fought, such as the Church well knows she has to fight in the days which lie before her, it is a very desirable thing that your forces should be compact, that you should know without any doubt who your own men are, and that they can be trusted to be thorough with the work in hand, and that

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an impassable and unmistakable line of demarcation should exist between them and the enemy.

The course of the next generation will show more clearly; but the experience of this generation would seem to give reason to believe that, despite the stand made by "Old Catholics," the Church has been strengthened rather than the reverse by the monstrosity which the Council voted.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

DEFINITIVE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE COUNCIL.—THE TERM "ŒCUMENICAL."—HOW FAR THE USE OF IT IS JUSTIFIED.—MOTIVES WHICH PROMPTED THE CALLING OF THE COUNCIL.—REASONS AGAINST IT.—CITATION FROM POMPONIO LETO.—SUMMARY OF THE NATURE OF THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH WHEN THE COUNCIL WAS DECIDED ON.—INCAPACITY OF THE SACRED COLLEGE FOR DEALING WITH IT.—THE JESUITS.—THEIR PURPOSES IN THE CALLING OF THE COUNCIL.—DIFFICULTIES THEY HAD TO CONTEND WITH.—PROTESTANT OPINION RESPECTING THE JESUITS.—SUCCESS AS REGARDS THE COUNCIL.—EVENTUAL SUCCESS YET TO BE SEEN. — PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE PONTIFF EMINENTLY ADAPTED TO THEIR VIEWS.

In the two allocutions of the 26th of June and the 1st of July, 1867, Pius the Ninth had, as has been seen, announced his intention of calling an Œcumenical Council; but he did not formally do so till the 22nd of June in the following year. In an allocution of that date, and more formally by a Bull dated on the 29th of that month, the assembling of the Council was definitively fixed for the 8th of December, 1869. Thus eighteen months were allowed for the necessary preparations for the great event. They were not more than may be deemed sufficient for the purpose even in these days, when the meaning of the term Œcumenical, and of the pretensions implied by the use of it are considered. The word is a great one, signifying the inhabited portion of the earth's surface; and the use of it is intended to imply that the habitat of the Catholic Church is *de jure* if not *de facto* coextensive with that. And of course the original theory of the supreme and inappealable authority of a Council of the Church depended on this quality of its universality. Of course, also there never was a time when fact and theory did not very widely diverge as regards this matter. The eighth century was probably the time when the fact and the theory most nearly coincided, but even then they were far from wholly coinciding, and ever since they have been diverging more and more from age to age.

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The meeting beneath the dome of St. Peter's of the Patriarch of Babylon with the Bishop of Chicago—the world of the past with the world of the future—was a sight not a little wonderful, as a French writer has observed. But, as the *soi-disant* "Pomponio Leto,"* remarking on the passage, says: "If one comes down to the naked fact, and if one turns from the exterior form to consider the substance of the matter, the Bishop of Chicago does not represent a Catholic Chicago any more than the Patriarch of Babylon represents a Catholic Babylonia. And it would not so much signify that these two extremities do not represent two Catholic communities; but how many other bishops are there in the same condition? To say nothing of all the bishops *in partibus infidelium*, what do the American bishops represent in reference to the titles of their dioceses? What does the Archbishop of New York represent in face of the Catholic, that is to say the Universal, Church? But passing over also the non-Catholic nations, how many of the French bishops are there who feel themselves to be really the pastors of the whole, or of the greater part of their flocks; or who are the real representatives of a truly Catholic society, or at least of a true Catholic majority?" In short, it is evident that the title "Œcumenical" represents a pretension only, and nothing else. The Council was a general council of that portion of Christendom which still considers itself in communion with Rome. Nevertheless, when thus stripped of pretences, which are merely such, and reduced to the dimensions of genuine fact which really belong to it, it cannot but be felt that a council of the Catholic Church is a great thing!

Granting that the supposition put forward in the last chapter is correct, and admitting it to be true that the Pope in this the greatest act of his pontificate was but a tool in the hands of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, the question arises: What was the motive which prevailed with that very astute and well-informed body of men to take a step which, probably, no one of their body or any other churchman could have regarded as otherwise than a risky one? Never, from the first foundation of the Church, had it occurred that so long a period had been

* "Otto Mesi à Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano. Impression di un Contemporaneo, per Pomponio Leto."

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allowed to elapse without the calling of a Council, as had passed since the last Council separated at Trent in 1563. The quiet times which succeeded the storms that attended the crisis of the Reformation, indifferentism in religious matters which was the character of recent generations, and the ill success of the Council of Trent, which failed ignominiously to heal the schisms which it was called to put an end to, while it had the result of enfeebling the authority of the episcopate, and intensifying the autocratic tendencies of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, furnish reasons more than sufficient to account for the fact that no Council was called for more than three hundred years after the ending of that of Trent.

It must be admitted, however, that the position of the Church in relation to the populations which still professedly formed its flock, was such at the time the Council was decided on, as required the adoption of some heroic measure of remedy. Yet thrice has a Council failed to heal a schism arising from a divergence of opinion, backed by a divergence of material interests and circumstances. The fourth Council of Constantinople, and the Council of Florence, failed wholly to do anything towards healing the schism of the East and West. The Council of Trent failed equally, as has been said, to heal the schism of the Reformation. And now, as the author already quoted remarks, "The third phase, which has for nearly a century past been threatening Catholicism, is that which for want of a name is called generically *the revolution*. . . . When the Italian events of 1859–60 menaced so nearly the very existence of the Court of Rome, the Pontifical Government, finding the ground failing beneath its feet in Italy, and unable to discover there any means of existence, had recourse, as it had always done in similar conjunctures, to the Catholic Powers. But inasmuch as the political condition of Europe was such that no reliance could be placed on the Governments for assistance, the Church, with a tendency to accommodate herself to the times entirely characteristic of her, addressed herself to public opinion instead of to the Governments, availed herself of newspapers, of public meetings, and of all the other means of influencing it. Instead of a governmental policy, she made for herself a party policy. Thus the so-called Catholic party was generated, or rather rose again, grew, and at last showed itself well-defined and organ-

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ised with a clear and distinct programme, with a zealous determination, and a very good organisation. The party formed itself, disciplined itself, and kept itself in continual communication with Rome by means of the vast assemblages of people drawn together thither by the definition of the Immaculate Conception, by the canonisation of saints, and by the centenary of St. Peter. The institution of the Peter's penny for meeting the expenses of the Papacy also contributed to the strong organisation of the party; as also did the enrolment of Pontifical Zouaves for very brief periods of service, so as almost to renew the whole body of them every year; also the foundation of several journals, various publications, civil and religious festivals, and other such means of action. In a word, the traditional policy of the Court of Rome, keeping itself always the same, changed its ground, and made use of a cosmopolitan Catholic party instead of the Holy Alliance, thus gathering to itself interests and passions of very heterogeneous kinds, and combating the adverse tendencies of the times not without success. To this end the Company of Jesus served as an admirable instrument, capable as it was by means of its possession of a discipline unique in the world, by its authority, and by its diffusion over all the earth, of organising and performing this work with a unity of action and of thought that could hardly have been secured by any other means."

Considering that the writer who calls himself "Pomponio Leto" is one who knows the Church *intus et in cute*, and that not by any means as an enemy, but as a friend, the above is a very remarkable passage. It gives us the *raison d'être* of the Council with a truthfulness that few indeed of those who knew would have been willing to imitate, and an accuracy which the many who have wished to give the world information on the subject were not in a position to rival.

In a few words the position was this. The Church had lost, to all appearance finally, its old and accustomed support from "the Powers of Europe," the Crowned Heads, the Governments, and their policemen and armies. She had lost, in a great measure, and was rapidly losing yet further, the allegiance and support of the masses of the people. It was necessary and high time that "something should be done." And the something must be such as should provide a new source of support to stand

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in the place of that which the civil governing Powers of the world no longer gave, and at the same time should reanimate the sentiments in the people which make the strength of the sacerdotal caste. The appointed, recognised rulers of the Church were altogether incapable and unfitted for undertaking any such task—very naturally. The Sacred College had not been filled with men chosen with any view to such work! They were, almost all of them, only fit to go on as they had always gone; to stick to the ship going to wreck as long as they could; to watch the progress of the ruin spreading around them with sad eyes and folded hands, and hope that things might hold together at least their time! There were men among them well fitted for doing diplomatic work in the cabinets of ministers, for dealing with schemes by which this, that, or the other European Power might be played off against each other, and induced to adopt measures judged useful for the interests of the Church. But to handle the levers, and pull the wires of that entirely different sort of machine, which was to work by the creation of "a Catholic party" among the masses of the people, was wholly out of their sphere and out of their power. So much so that when the "something that might be done" was suggested to them they shook their heads, and said that *that* would never do. It was too big a thing, too startling, too bold, too full of risks and dangers!

But there were men—there was an organised body of men—who were equal to the crisis which the Princes of the Church were incapable of dealing with. Those who had suggested the bold stroke, the mere contemplation of which frightened the recognised counsellors of the Apostolic See, were capable of carrying it into effect without them and despite of them and their fears! Might it not be thought—of course has been thought and said with veritable conviction by the devout—that Loyola had been providentially directed to the creation of his militia *ad hoc?* Now was the moment when they and they only could save the Church! And by a further manifestation of Providential care, they had ready to their hand the one thing needed, outside their own organisation, an occupant of the Seat of St. Peter, who was exactly the very man for their purposes!

And these purposes were not single, but manifold. Their scheme of a Council, like every good and masterly scheme, was

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to testify to its excellence, even as the arrangements of the Divine government of the universe testify to their goodness and authority, by securing not only manifold but heterogeneous advantages. Not only was the Church and her interests to be so presented to mankind as to render possible the formation of a genuinely popular Catholic party; but the constitutionalism of the Church, which had for ages been an obstacle and a thorn in the flesh to those whose modes of action and whose power require a despotic monarch, the back-stairs *entrée* to whose cabinet should be in their own keeping, was to be destroyed. And this the Council was destined to effect, and has most wonderfully, and in defiance of all that might antecedently have been deemed probable or even possible, effected!

Could it have been deemed possible that an assembly of the Bishops of the Universal Church, who had for generations past been feeling that the old episcopal liberty and authority of the primitive Church was gradually being confiscated to the profit of a central despotism, and had been more or less audibly groaning under the oppression, would have given their own votes for the absolute and final suppression of that liberty and authority? Could it have been deemed possible that an assembly of Bishops, brought together by the exercise of despotic authority, in defiance of the wishes and the opinion of the recognised and constituted advisers of the Holy See, could do this thing? The Jesuits thought that it was possible. They judged that the difficulty was not too great to be overcome by the means at their disposition—and they judged rightly!

So much romantic trash has been written and talked about the Jesuits, and Protestant intolerance and bigotry has revolted so many minds by its wide-eyed bugaboo absurdities, that a reaction has been produced in public opinion, which has carried its ever-swaying pendulum very much too far in a contrary direction. The world will find out yet that those who know the Jesuits best are those who fear them most. And surely the well-known and ascertained facts of the history of the Company ought to suffice to persuade the world of this truth. If we decline to accept as gospel all that Mr. Whalley tells us, we must admit that Clement the Fourteenth knew something about the Fathers of the Gesù.

How far and how entirely the Jesuits have succeeded in get-

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ting the future of the Church into their own hands will not be known till the world sees the result of the next Conclave, which no man, not even Father Beckx himself, surveying the progress of the game from the serene heights of Fiesole, can predict with any degree of assurance. Of course the Sacred College is very far from being the same body now that it was when it vainly counselled the Pontiff against his design of summoning an Œcumenical Council. And of course every fresh creation of Cardinals modifies the chances of the result of the next election. But there can be no doubt that the Jesuitising faction at the Vatican has gained much ground in the College since that day; and much doubt whether a similar question put now to their Eminences would meet (if votes were taken) with a similar reply.

At any rate, the Jesuits have succeeded wonderfully thus far. And their success has probably availed to convert to their views some members of the Sacred College, anxious only for what they deem the interests of the Church. The occupation of the pontifical throne by a man with such virtues and such failings as Pius the Ninth made a priceless opportunity for them. An old and often repeated observation has pointed out the singular analogies which may be discovered between the sacerdotal and the female character. And it must have been the study of such priests as the present Pontiff which first prompted the remark: "With, with a woman's failings, not against them, must he work, who seeks her overthrow!" says Taylor in his "Van Artevelde."* And that was the way the Jesuits went to work with Pius the Ninth. "YOU shall step forth before the converging eyes of the whole admiring world, a God on earth; or if not absolutely a God, a God's Viceregent endowed with absolutely God-like power and attributes! YOU, absolutely YOU individually, not the mere personified abstraction of an impersonal Church, shall in YOUR PROPER PERSON enjoy an authority and a dignity and an awful reverence, which no man yet on earth, save the God-Man Himself, has ever enjoyed or known! YOU shall be a Pope such as no Pope from Peter downwards has ever been!"

* Or in better words to the same effect. I quote from memory, and have not the book at hand.

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And wonderfully have they kept the word of promise! With what glorious magnificencc has he stood before the reverent world alone upon the stage, draped in the ample folds of the great pontifical mantle, which so entirely and decorously concealed the humble, crouching, gleaming-eyed, black figure in square-cornered cap, pulling the wires that regulated the movements of the majestic puppet!

But no pagan Leo the Tenth, no clever sceptical Benedict the Fourteenth, no shrewd Clement the Fourteenth would have served the turn, or could have played the part. It needed the enormous capacity of faith requisite to enable an infallible Pope to believe in himself. It needed a sincerity of piety strong enough to supply a motive for the devotion of a life, joined to poverty of native intelligence capable of seriously accepting practices, institutions, and inventions based on superstitions of the most grovelling and fetish-like kind, and in conjunction with these qualities a personal vanity, craving for admiration, and love of representation ruling the mind with the intensity of a master-passion.

All these were present in the Pontiff, whom the Jesuits found prepared to their hand mainly by nature, but in great part also by the singular vicissitudes of his Papacy. And the Œcumenical Council was the result. What that will eventually result in time will show!

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CHAPTER XXX.

THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL ON THE 8TH OF DECEMBER.—MEETING IN THE HALL IN THE VESTIBULE OVER ST. PETER'S.—PROCESSION THENCE TO THE CHURCH.—THE HALL PREPARED FOR THE COUNCIL IN ST. PETER'S.—THE DOOR-KEEPERS OF THE COUNCIL.—THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE MEMBERS.—IMPERFECT ACOUSTIC CONDITIONS.—SCENE PRESENTED AT THE OPENING.—DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE SENTIMENTS AND THE VOTES OF MANY MEMBERS. THE OPENING CEREMONIAL.—THE POPE'S ALLOCUTION.—HIS EMOTION.—EMOTIONS NOT CONVICTIONS.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEMPERAMENT OF PIUS THE NINTH.—CONCLUSION OF THE CEREMONY, AND OF THE FIRST DAY'S SITTING.

At nine in the morning of the 8th of December, 1869, the guns on the Monte Aventino, and the bells of all the churches in Rome announced to the world the opening of the twentieth Œcumenical Council. And at the same hour those who were to take part in it were assembling in the great hall which is over the vestibule of the Church of St. Peter. It was remarked at the time that the Pope, in defiance of the ordinary etiquette which prescribes that in any ceremony or function of any kind he does not leave his private apartments till everything is ready and everybody in his appointed place, was among the first who came to the hall of meeting, and seating himself, awaited the assembling of all who were to file down before him into the church.

Various authorities give the number of those who assembled somewhat differently. But the following statement may be accepted as very nearly if not absolutely accurate. There were forty Cardinals, somewhat over seven hundred Bishops, twenty Mitred Abbots, five Abbots *nullius*, and about thirty Generals of Orders. It is, however, quite certain, that the votes given at the first voting were six hundred and seventy-eight—of the Bishops present nine were Patriarchs, four of the Latin, five of the Oriental rite; five Archbishop Primates, and over a hundred and thirty Archbishops. It must be understood, however,

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that all these Bishops were not Diocesans. Many were Bishops *in partibus*. Some of the Patriarchs, as Pomponio Leto observes, had never left Rome in their lives; and many of the Bishops would have been puzzled to tell the geographical position of the places from which they took their titles. All these, as well as the Abbots and Generals of Orders, were admitted to sit at the Council, and by special privilege to vote; a concession which, as Pomponio Leto remarks, and many others have remarked, exercised an importantly modifying effect on the composition of an assembly which should have consisted only of Bishops having the cure of souls; an office which certainly must be held to ensure a greater degree of responsibility and a larger amonnt of knowledge and experience than was likely to be found in men who for the most part were mere creatures of the Pope and courtiers of the Apostolic Court. Their presence, however, contributed to make the Council of the Vatican the most numerous of any which the Church has ever seen.

When all were assembled, the Pontiff rose, and going to prostrate himself before the altar began to intone the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which the choir took up after him, as the procession put itself into movement. First went the Pope's Chamberlains and private Chaplains; next the Advocates of Consistory, the Prothonotaries of the Council and the Members of the Choir. Then came the "Abbreviatori del Parco maggiore," the "Votandi di Segnatura," the Clerks of the Chamber, the "Auditori di Rota; from which four bodies eight prelates, chosen two from each, acted as scrutators of votes at the Council. After them came the Master of the Sacred Hospital, and two chaplains, one carrying the threefold tiara, and the other the Pope's mitre. After these began the defile of those who were to form a constituent part of the Council. Preceded by an incense-bearer, and the Apostolic Subdeacon carrying the papal cross between two acolytes, the Mitred Abbots walked first, then the Abbots *nullius*, the Bishops, Archbishops, Prelates, Patriarchs, and then the Cardinals according to their order. Each Bishop and Cardinal was accompanied by a train-bearer. Behind the Cardinals came the Senator and the "Conservators" of Rome, the Vice-treasurer of the Holy Church, the "Prince attendant on the throne" (a lay office always held by one of the principal of the Roman aristocracy), then two Prothonotaries, the Car-

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dinal Deacon, the masters of the ceremonies, and behind them the Pope, carried in the "sedia gestatoria"—the chair raised on men's shoulders, the appearance of which is so well known from very many engravings of papal ceremonies—with the canopy or "*baldacchino*" held aloft over him. Behind him followed various officials attached to the service of the Council in sundry capacities; then the Generals of the religious Orders; then other officials, the secretaries, the notaries, and lastly the stenographers.

The procession moved between two compact masses of clergy of all ranks inferior to the episcopal, passing first by the hall which lies between the Sistine and Paoline chapels, and thence by the Scala Regia to the portico of the church, and entered it by the great central door. For the first time in the memory of man, as more than one eye-witness has remarked, the vast Basilica seemed to be full! The Pope, as well as every other dignitary forming the procession, was dressed in white, "because it was the day sacred to the Immaculate Conception." The Pontiff wore not the three-fold crown, but a very precious mitre which had been made for the occasion, the use of which, instead of the "triregno," was adopted to signify the equality of all Bishops as such. At the entrance to the Church the Pope descended from the "sedia gestatoria," walked to the papal altar, and then halted.

The hall prepared for the sittings of the Council consists of the right hand or southern transept of St. Peter's Church. This was walled in for the purpose, and has indeed remained in the same condition ever since. The great door in the wall which divides it from the body of the church remained open to the curiosity of the public during the first formal sitting; and this was the case also on the occasion of all the subsequent *public* meetings of the Council. It was kept shut only during the *private* or debating sittings of that body. It was a question to whom the "keeping" of this door should be entrusted. For on the one hand an ancient privilege attributed this duty to the Knights of St. John, or of the Order of Jerusalem; and on this occasion the representatives of that time-honoured Order presented themselves for the purpose of undertaking the duty. On the other hand, it is the special duty of the Pope's Noble Guard to be always on Guard wherever the Pope

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may be. So the matter was settled by entrusting the keeping of the Council door to both these bodies in conjunction. Over this door is inscribed in large gilt letters, "Docete omnes gentes. Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi."

On a raised daïs at one end of the hall is the papal throne, and around it the seats for the Patriarchs and Cardinals, then in a semicircle of seven tiers of benches, one below another down to the level of the floor, the seats for the Bishops. Every seat is numbered, and to every member of the Council was distributed a ticket with a corresponding number on it, which was also the number attached to the individual in the printed catalogue of the members, with which every member was furnished. A few paintings decorated the hall, the general appearance of which was grandiose from the size and character of the locality, but in all other respects very simple. No sooner, however, were the members of the Council congregated within it, than its one great defect was disclosed—the acoustic conditions were very bad, as indeed might have been anticipated from the enormous height, the colossal proportions of the arches, and the form of the building.

As Pomponio Leto sarcastically puts it, "The immense vaults and huge arches of the nave adapted themselves with marked partiality to the wishes of that portion of the Council which is accused of having been no very warm partisan of discussion." For the work of voting, acoustic perfection was in nowise needed!

It was nearly eleven o'clock before the members got seated in their places in the hall, "the Pope upon his throne"—I quote again from the same writer—"the Cardinals and Patriarchs in their seats, and then all the Bishops, Latins, Greeks, Ruthenians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Copts, Armenians, each on his proper bench, and dressed in the pontifical vestments peculiar to his rite. Assembled as they were on that day, they presented one of the most solemn and marvellous spectacles that could be offered to the eye of man, especially in our days, which are so far removed from exhibitions of such external pomp. Nor was it possible for any spectator, however little well-disposed towards that assembly, not to be struck with wonder, not so

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much at the magnificence of the ceremony as at the vigour of that institution, which after so many, many ages of existence could without any means more cogent than a simple letter of invitation bring together into the presence of a single man from the farthest parts of the earth such an assembly of men of all nations, bound by a discipline which possesses hardly any sensible sanction, and yet, as regards many among them, devoted to a degree unknown to any other assembly in the world, to the voluntary and deliberate effacement of themselves, that is to say, and intent not on the extension of their own prerogatives, but, on the contrary, on tenaciously struggling against public opinion for the diminution of them. How well in the presence of such a sight does one conceive the indomitable sentiment of power and authority which has always dominated the Popes! None save they have ever reached to so prodigious an altitude of dominion, and above all, of reverence!"

Yes! a wonderful sight indeed; and well calculated to induce a very sufficiently far-reaching train of reflections! But supposing, as I take it was the case, that the author of the above sentences wrote them immediately after the event he chronicles, and while he was still under the impression of it, it seems probable that he must before the close—or rather the suspension—of the Council, have somewhat modified his opinion as to the eagerness of the majority of the members, or at least of the more conspicuous and authoritative among them, to contribute to the work of destroying their own prerogatives, liberty, power, and independence. They gave the votes that effected this, it is true. But the most wonderful thing in the wonderful story of that assembly is the action of the force which compelled them—or at least many of them—to do the things they would not, and to give votes against their own convictions and wishes! That this wonderful power existed, that this extraordinary result could be brought about, the Jesuits, and they only, antecedently to the proof, understood and perceived. And wisdom was justified of her children!

As soon as ever the Pope had entered the hall, the Cardinal Vicar began to celebrate a solemn Mass. Then the Bishop of Iconium preached a Latin sermon; and when that was finished the Pope "received the obedience" of every member of the

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immense assembly ; which ceremony consists of each one by one kneeling before him and kissing his knee. " What a prodigious force of memory," remarks Pomponio Leto, " must a *Servus Servorum Dei* possess to remember that humble formula during the whole of such a ceremony ! "

Thrice, when this had been got through, the Pontiff blessed the assembly ; and then he pronounced the allocution of the opening of the Council. Towards the end of his address a thrill of genuine emotion ran through the assembly, and by virtue of the contagious nature of such sentiments, which operate with an accumulated force proportioned to the numerousness of the gathering, caused a chord of genuine feeling to vibrate in many an aged breast long unused to such. The Pope himself was in a state of high enthusiasm during the whole of the immensely long and most fatiguing ceremony. Any one who has formed any tolerably accurate conception of the nature and character of Pius the Ninth would be sure that such would be the case. But I will once more quote from the same eye-witness I have so often cited in the above account of this memorable day, his description of the Pontiff's bearing on the occasion.

" All," says he, " who have ever had an opportunity of knowing him, are aware how sensitive and prone to vivid emotions is the nature of the Pope. In that instant (the conclusion of his opening allocution), the most profound faith and the highest enthusiasm seemed to fire him, and, despite his great age (then seventy-seven), kept him alert in person and indefatigable during the whole of the immensely long and fatiguing ceremony. It is the speciality of strong convictions and powerful sentiments to communicate themselves rapidly.* The Pope, who had been much moved during the whole ceremony, uttered at the end of his allocution two invocations, one to the Holy Spirit, the other to the Virgin. When he came to that point in his discourse, he rose, lifting up his arms to heaven, and all the assembly as by a common impulse stood up. It was at that

* The eloquent observer who writes thus makes a mistake. It *is* the speciality of strong *emotions* thus to communicate and propagate themselves. *Convictions* can be communicated in no such manner, but only by very different means. The error is a characteristic one.

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moment a very solemn spectacle! The germs of those divisions which were to come over those minds and cool that enthusiasm had not yet shown themselves; and all the emotions, all the fears, and all the hopes of the Catholic world were seething in the hearts of its universal assembly."

A solemn and a moving spectacle and moment no doubt! But how much more so would it have been had it really been the case that convictions could have been communicated by contact as well as emotions. In the case of the Pope no such distinction either in that moment or any subsequent moment existed to diminish the genuine fervour of his enthusiasm. Endowed with a nature incapable of distinguishing between convictions and emotions, they were in him one and the same thing. And in the present case no doubt the green-room rule, which teaches an actor that to reach the summit of his art and powerfully move his audience, he must not be mastered by his own emotions, was not applicable. Pius felt all that at that great moment he seemed to feel, and he did profoundly move his audience.

When the allocution was concluded, further prayers were recited, the *Veni Creator* was sung, and the formal decree for the opening of the Council was read. Then the formal question had to be put to the members of the assembly, whether it pleased them that the labours of the Council should begin. To this the classical *placet* was spoken in reply; another hymn was sung; the next sitting was appointed for the 6th of January, 1870, and the first sitting of the twentieth Œcumenical Council was at an end.

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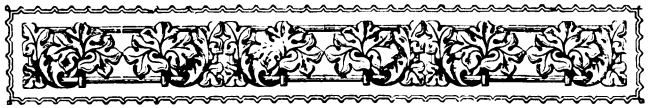

CHAPTER XXXI.

EFFECT OF THE DOGMA OF THE INFALLIBILITY ON THE CHARACTER OF PIUS. —THE HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL.—THE MOTIVES AND CHARACTER OF ITS PROMOTERS.—TAMPERING WITH THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL.—SECRECY OBSERVED WITH REFERENCE TO THE TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED.—POSITION AND ATTITUDE OF THE "CIVILTA CATTOLICA."—OPPOSITION RAISED BY IT.—THE WORK OF THE "CONGREGATIONS."—THE WORK OF POMPONIO LETO ON THE COUNCIL.—POSITION ASSUMED BY ARCHBISHOP MANNING AS LEADER OF THE INFALLIBILIST PARTY.—THE DECLARATION OF PERSONAL INFALLIBILITY THE GREAT OBJECT AND AIM OF THE COUNCIL.—NUMBER AND HOPES OF THE OPPOSITION.—ST. PETER'S DAY.—GROWTH OF THE DOCTRINE OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.—APPROACH OF THE HOT SEASON.—POPE'S SPEECH ON THE DAY OF CORPUS DOMINI.—COMMENCEMENT OF DISCUSSION ON THE 18TH OF JUNE. —ORATION OF CARDINAL GUIDI.—RESTRICTION OF DEBATE.—NO FORMULA OF CONCILIATION POSSIBLE.—APPEAL OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE POPE.—EFFECTS OF THE INCREASING HEAT.—HURRIED CHARACTER OF THE CONCLUDING SCENES.

FEW events which have ever happened in the world can be supposed to have done anything towards modifying the character of a man in whose seventy-seventh year they occurred. But I think that may be supposed to have happened to Pius the Ninth from the holding of the Œcumenical Council. Of course all the world knows that the most notable, the most portentous result of the Council was the dogmatic definition, in such sort as to render the tenet an article of faith, necessary to salvation, of the personal infallibility of the Pontiff! The bare statement of such a proposition is staggering in its monstrosity; and when it is contemplated in conjunction with a recollection of some of the most salient pages of ecclesiastical history, and with the consideration that all former Popes must needs have been as personally infallible as the present Pontiff, the mind is lost in amazement at the brazen-faced audacity of those who propound, and the *utpote-cadaver*-like self denial and prostration of the intellect of those who receive it!

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Of course it is not meant that the man who is Pope can in his own person do no wrong, or fall into no error. The doctrine is that that which the Pope as Pope and *ex cathedra* declares to be right and true, cannot be wrong or false. And this is supposed to have been the case with such men as Leo the Tenth and Alexander the Sixth.

I think that this greatness cannot be thrust upon a man even in his seventy-seventh year, without modifying his nature and his character. And there can be no doubt that, in the case of the Pontiff, the modification was very much for the worse.

This is not the place for a history of the Council. Such a history of that great event, the full greatness and significance of which has hardly yet been appreciated by the Protestants of this country, as should, without entering on the technically theological portion of the subject, set forth to the English reader with sufficient detail *what* was done by the Council, and *how* it was done, would not, I think, be found uninteresting by a large number of persons in this country. But a volume about as large as that which the reader has in his hand would be needed for the purpose; and if it had been essayed here would have caused a digression out of all proportion with the other facts of this narrative. Nevertheless an attempt must be made to tell as briefly and summarily as may be both what was done and how it was accomplished.

It is usually said to be unwise and uncharitable to impute motives. Yet it is often the business and the duty of an historian to do so; and all that the moralist can say to him on the subject is to bid him remember that his estimate should be charitable, and must needs be doubtful. And it must especially and greatly be doubtful when those whose conduct has to be estimated are of so different a category of human beings from the appraiser of it, as are the ecclesiastics who ruled the operations of the Council from an English Protestant. This must be duly borne in mind. But bearing it in mind, and endeavouring to give the consideration its due weight, it is still hardly possible to doubt that those who guided, or forced rather, the Council to do the work it did, must have had the conscience that they were doing ill. Of course the A. M. D. G. can do much towards forming a conscience differently constituted from that of other moralists. But the sanctity of a Council, the

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more than merely human value of the consensus of the Universal Church, the awful and mystic authority of its sanction, must have been to the minds of those men either a certain and unspeakably solemn reality, or a base imposture and a farce. If the latter—*res judicata est!* But if the former were the case, how is such a belief compatible with the attempt—the successful attempt—to falsify, juggle with, and force the solemn verdict of the assembly, on the genuineness of whose freely and independently recorded opinion the entire theory of their system is based! It is possible to conceive that the promoters of the doctrine of the personal Infallibility of the Pope may have held the opinion that that dogma tended to the advantage of the Church, and that this was identical with the truest and best interests of mankind. The latter opinion is, so we all know, most sincerely held by a large portion of mankind. But it is wholly impossible to conceive that the man who thus thinks of the Church should imagine that good, which depends on the fundamental postulate of the Church's unity, could be secured by fraudulent tampering with that unity, and with the voice professing to proceed from it.

And now let us see, so far as is compatible with the necessary brevity, whether the managers of the Council were not guilty of such tampering.

Of course preparation was needed for the discussions of such a body as the Council. It was simply impossible that a parliament of six or seven hundred individuals, however competent each one of them might be, could set about the discussion of any subject without a plan and without guidance. And this was accordingly provided. After the proclamation put before the meeting of the Council, the Pope appointed a commission of eight Cardinals, Patrizi, Reisach, Bernabo, Panebianco, Bizzari, Bilio (who is said to have had a great part in the drawing up of the Syllabus), Caterini, and Capalti, to undertake the direction of the preparatory business. This commission appointed six other commissions, presided over by six of their own number, to each of which a special category of subjects was entrusted. Bilio was at the head of that to which dogmatic theology was entrusted; Reisach of that which undertook ecclesiastical polity; Bernabo, Oriental affairs; Bizzarri, matters concerning the religious orders; Patrizi, ceremonial affairs; Caterini,

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ecclesiastical discipline. The members of the six commissions thus formed were theologians selected by the Pope and the eight Cardinals who have been named from among churchmen of all Catholic nations. And to these persons thus selected were confided "entirely, or at least almost entirely,"* the subjects which it was intended that the Council should discuss *under the seal of the most profound secrecy.* At the same time a very much smaller list of subjects was communicated to the Bishops, for their study in preparation for the meeting of the Assembly. With the exception of this restricted list of subjects, *the most profound secrecy* as to the matters to be brought before the Council was observed at the Vatican.

And here at the very threshold we come to the first thing that cannot but give rise to suspicion that this Council of the Vatican was not intended to have those characteristics on which the entire value of an Œcumenical Council depends. Why this secrecy? It might have been imagined that it would have been desired that the whole Catholic world, or at least the whole of the ecclesiastical portion of it should have been made acquainted with the subjects which were to be brought before the Council. And, in fact, this secrecy did awaken suspicion in the Church. It was much commented on and complained of, especially in Germany. And it was at the same time remarked, that the mode of proceeding thus adopted had the effect of placing the Episcopate of the Church at a serious disadvantage, inasmuch as these despotically-selected theologians were thus placed in a notably superior position to the Bishops who were their hierarchical superiors, and a position which in fact gave them a much greater power and authority in the Council. This was the first indication of the path on which the Vatican was entering that engendered that opposition party in the Church, which its subsequent proceedings, so fatally to the unity of the Church, confirmed and increased.

The next thing that astonished and scandalised the ecclesiastical world was the strange position of influence and authority in the preparations for the Council assumed by and accorded to a newspaper—the *Civiltà Cattolica!* This paper was known to be highly influential at the Vatican, and it was soon seen that

* Pomponio Leto, p. 27.

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it was the only public organ in Europe that had the information necessary to enable it to speak with knowledge, and the only one in Rome that was permitted to speak on the subject whatever it chose to say. In fact, the *Civiltà Cattolica* was simply and avowedly the voice of the Jesuits. The Fathers of "The Company" entered largely into the composition of the commissions that have been referred to; but it is known that they nevertheless found some difficulty in imposing on those bodies the entire acceptance of their views. But they did succeed in doing so to an extent which emboldened them to commence in the *Civiltà* a series of articles on "Matters relating to the Council," which in fact set forth their programme of the conduct of the Council, and of the matters to be treated at it. And the astonished Catholic world saw a newspaper assuming tones of authority and direction as to the deliberations of the Universal Church! But those who knew what that newspaper was, felt alarm as well as surprise and indignation. And these sentiments culminated in a general outcry, when on the 6th of February, 1869, the *Civiltà* came out with (under the transparent veil of a correspondence from France) a regular and complete programme of the work to be done by the Council, the main scope of which it announced to be the dogmatic adoption and proclamation of the Syllabus, of the Infallibility of the Pope, and of the Corporeal Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The *Civiltà* had at the same time the audacity to state that the preparatory labours of the Council were in so great a degree complete, and the opinion of the Church so manifest, that the Council would have but little work to do, and would be of short duration.

The outcry occasioned by this audacious article, was such that the Jesuits deemed it prudent to retreat a little, which the *Civiltà* did in its April number, declaring that it had merely printed the ideas of a French correspondent. Nevertheless it continued to defend and enforce those ideas; the defence put forward availed nothing, and the opposition party in the Church became more alarmed, more decided in opposition, and more convinced that the Jesuits did not intend that the Œcumenical Council should have those characteristics which alone could entitle it to be considered such by the Universal Church.

Immediately after the first public session, which has been described in a former chapter, the "congregations" began. The

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first were for the public and formal voting and declaration of what was done, and what determinations arrived at; the second took place with closed doors, and the business of discussion and all the real work of the Council was done in them. They were secret; but, as Pomponio Leto remarks, such secrecy as is possible when seven or eight hundred people share the secret, cannot prevent the world from being informed with sufficient accuracy of all that took place.

But I must not suffer myself to be led into occupying the reader with the history of the Council, or even to stray so far from the proper subject of these volumes as to indicate the causes of the continually increasing discontent, which beginning, as has been seen, before the opening of the Assembly, became constantly greater and more pregnant with schism till its close. It would take too much space to explain in a manner intelligible to those to whom the subject is a new one, all the many various tricks and inventions to which the Vatican managers of the Council had recourse for the purpose of limiting the freedom of debate, preventing intercommunication of opinion, and forcing votes by compelling the voters to give them hoodwinked, and by shutting out from them any other exit than that towards which they were being driven. Those who would judge for themselves how much justification may be found under all these headings, for the accusation that the Jesuits and Jesuitising managers of the Council proved themselves to be fraudulent impostors by tampering with that voice of the Church, on the sanctity of which they profess the entire value of their action to depend, must consult the work which I have so often quoted, and to which I am under such large obligations.*

I hurry on to the great work of the Council, the declaration of the personal Infallibity of the Pontiff. Its advocates and promoters did not confine their efforts to the debates in the Council Hall. "An address," says Pomponio Leto, "was carried round by the Archbishop of Westminster,† and by the Fathers of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, accompanied by a letter

* "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano. Impressioni di un Contemporaneo, per Pomponio Leto." Firenze, 1873.

† Dr Manning was considered as the leader of the Infallibilists, as Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, was of the Anti-infallibilists.

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addressed to the Bishops, urging them to demand from the Council the proclamation of the personal Infallibility of the Pope in matters of faith and morals. It was all very well to talk of other subjects, this was the dominant point of the matter, *the* question of the Vatican Council. All other subjects yielded place, and grouped themselves around this. Everybody, according to his mode of thinking, according to his views and his wishes, felt that in that was centred the *to be or not to be.*"*

It would seem from various impartial and carefully considered data for calculation, that the number of adherents obtained in the first instance in this manner was about four hundred. The first signature to the address was that of the Archbishop of Westminster. It was said, also, that the Bishop of Baltimore, one of the very few American Infallibilists, was one of the eighteen who signed it; and it was noted that among them there was but one, if any, Italian. But in such an assembly as that of the Council, though votes may be formally and officially counted, the moral value and result must depend on the weighing of them; and though it is unquestionable that the Jesuit managers of the Council were sufficiently adroit masters of the art of working on human weaknesses, to secure a considerable numerical majority for the affirmation of the doctrine, which they were determined to thrust down the throat of the Church, the record, nevertheless, remains ineffaceable that it was finally protested against by almost every man, authoritative either by personal qualifications, or by the importance of the See represented by him.

The long debates on this the great question of the Council are highly instructive and interesting; but we must hurry on to the conclusion.

It was the middle of June, and the formula of the intended definition had not yet been made known to the Council. The festival of St. Peter was approaching; and it was known that the Infallibilists had counted on obtaining the desired vote on that day. All kinds of speculations were rife among the anxious Fathers of the Church, as to the shape which the dreaded *formula* would take. The more optimist flattered themselves that the Vatican might be content with that adopted by St.

* *Sic* in orig.

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Antonine, the sainted Bishop of Florence, according to which the Pope is infallible when he teaches in accordance with the counsel of the Bishops and the assent of the Universal Church. But an assertion so harmless as this would by no means have contented the Infallibilists of the nineteenth century. And those who were best aware of their intentions felt very little hope that anything short of a declaration of Infallibility, pure and simple, would serve their turn.

Much anxiety was felt also as to the number of those who might be counted on to oppose the decree, and it was thought that this number might be reckoned at something between eighty and a hundred and thirty. This it is to be understood was the number not of those who were known to be adverse to the doctrine in their hearts, or even of those who had opposed it in the congregations, but of those who could be counted on to speak out their "non placet" publicly at the time of voting in the presence of the Pope, which was a very different matter. But all these countings and calculations were considered to be labour lost by many who believed that the majority would really do as they loudly declared they would, vote the decree by force of numbers without any regard to the minority. Still the opinion was strong in many, both in Rome and throughout the Catholic world, that the Jesuits and the majority would not venture to declare the doctrine voted and accepted by the Universal Church in the face of an opposition so considerable in point of numbers, and more considerable still in weight of authority and character.

The discussions on the points which preceded that concerning the Infallibility were rapidly got over, many Bishops even professing to deem them of no importance, so entirely were the minds of all occupied with the one great question. The discussion of that was reached on the 15th of June. And as the names of eighty orators were inscribed to speak against it, it was evidently impossible that the dogma should be pronounced on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul—the 29th—to the great disappointment of the dominant party. Far more importance had been attached to this, than persons of modern and unecclesiastical habits of mind will readily imagine. It was thought that the grand *coup de théâtre* of the announcement of the Infallibility *urbi et orbi*, would have made a greater effect and

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been found more impressive if it could have been proclaimed on that day. This, however, was now manifestly impossible.

Most curious and interesting is the story of the slow and often interrupted progress and growth in the Church of the notion of Papal Infallibility. Most remarkable is the regularity with which each recurring attempt of the human mind to emancipate itself from the yoke of the papal pretensions has been followed by an advance of the theories of unconditional submission. Not that the attempts have been wholly unsuccessful. But every diminution in the numbers of the papal flock has been followed by the assumption of increased authority over those which have remained to him. Each loss in quantity (so to express it) has been followed by a gain in quality. Each restriction of the papal authority to a smaller area has had the effect of intensifying the exorbitance of the Pontiff's pretensions within that area. And the causes which have produced this undeviating progression are the same, which seem to the present writer to make it questionable whether Pius the Ninth has not upon the whole done well instead of ill for the future of his Church by his Syllabus and his Council.

But interesting as this story is, and despite a certain notion which the present writer confesses himself to entertain that he could so tell the story as to make it interesting to "the general reader," it cannot be told here.

The impossibility of attaining the proclamation of the desired dogma on the 29th caused the managers of the Council and the majority to be in less hurry than would have otherwise been the case. Nevertheless the Roman summer was at hand, and this was a very serious consideration. But it was one which might cut two ways. There has never been a Papal Conclave in the latter summer or autumn at Rome without loss of life. Several Cardinals have in some cases died of an autumnal Conclave. What then might not be expected from the presence in Rome at that season of some seven or eight hundred stranger Bishops? That the prospect of continuing the sitting of the Council during July, August, and perhaps September, was a somewhat appalling one, was in no wise doubtful. The doubt was which party would be most likely to be frightened by it! The majority, however, had this pull—that the opposition were prevented from making up their minds and concerting

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their plans to face the danger at all costs by a very general opinion that the managers would not take the responsibility of keeping the Fathers in Rome during the unhealthy season. On the other hand, both parties were equally aware that all might be lost or all gained by an adjournment. They were also aware that this adjournment would be a triumph for the Anti-infallibilists.

The Thursday was the festival of the Corpus Domini, and on that account no Congregation was held on that day. The Pope, receiving the felicitations of the Sacred College by the mouth of the Cardinal-Vicar, as usual, made a very remarkable reply, in which, speaking of the Bishops assembled in Rome, he divided them into three categories: the 1st, of those dominated by the spirit of the world, who care for popularity more than for truth (*i.e.* the opposition party), for whose better illumination he prayed; 2nd, those who were uncertain, on whose behalf he prayed that the Holy Spirit would grant them more decision; and 3rd, those who walked in the paths of the Lord (*i.e.* the Infallibilists), whom he fervently blessed. It was thought at the time by all save the latter, that this speech, which thus professed to decide the very point which the Council was called to discuss, was rather a strong proof of the correctness of the opinions of the opposition! But Pius the Ninth has not an intellect capable of perceiving the logical difficulties which are apt to be generated by the mental habit of begging questions.

On Saturday, the 18th of June, the real discussion of the doctrine in question was commenced in the Congregation—"a memorable day, inasmuch as it saw the opening of the final combat, which (though from all that had already passed it might be deemed already decided) was nevertheless that which was to decide irrevocably the fate of the Catholic Church in its conflict—the gravest which it ever yet had!—with the tendencies and the civil society of our days."*

The first to speak on that day were the Cardinals Ranscher, Pietro, Bonnechose, Cullen, and Guidi. But the event of the day was the speech of the last, Cardinal Guidi. A very eloquent address brought him to the conclusion that the Pope

* Pomponio Leto, p. 269.

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cannot define a doctrine without the Council, or without the counsel, of the Church. Whether he said "sine Concilio" or "sine consilio" was doubted. But in either case his speech fell like a bombshell among the Infallibilists! It had been fully expected that he would have spoken on the other side. It was thought at the time that he had been led by his own eloquence to go a step farther than he had intended at the moment of commencing his address, when he demanded the *anathema* for whoso should maintain the contrary proposition; a decree which, as it was remarked, would seem, considering all that he had taken upon himself to do, to involve in an *anathema* Pius the Ninth himself. Cardinal Guidi was "sent for" the next day to the Vatican. What passed between him and the Holy Father can of course only be guessed.

The debate continued to drag its slow length along amid the increasing heat till the end of June. Stringent measures were taken by the managers to restrict its duration. No orator was allowed to speak more than twenty minutes, the expiration of that time being inexorably marked by the ringing of a bell. Nevertheless the end of June was reached, and nothing had as yet been done; or at least nothing save the attainment by both parties of the conviction that a prolonged search for some form of words which by sailing curiously close to the wind might so far satisfy both parties as to serve for a compromise, was hopeless. As Pomponio Leto puts it: "All those tentatives were equally vain from the same cause—that the majority would on no account make any concession respecting the personal Infallibility of the Pope; and on the other hand the opposition, which had suffered from so many illusory hopes and so many deceptions, and was now greatly irritated, would not lend itself to any fresh equivocations, and had become more distrustful and less yielding. There was besides this what may be called the technical difficulty arising from the fact, that inasmuch as the Popes had by a constant and insensible expansion of their authority gradually reached the most absolute authority, and inasmuch as being in possession of this authority with full jurisdiction over the entire Church, and thus in fact enjoying all the substance of Infallibility, it hence came to pass that in the course of this long and undisputed advance of encroachment all the subtleties of phraseology, all

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the sophisms, all the most ingenious combinations of words and shades of significance had already been exhausted in the process, and there was nothing more to be done in that line. Nothing further remained but to say the word. And the Council therefore was placed in this inevitable dilemma: either it must proclaim the Infallibility pure and simple, or leave matters as they were. But the latter course was held by the Infallibilists of the majority to be equivalent to a defeat." As it unquestionably would have been.

In these circumstances the opposition at the end of June determined to make one more attempt, by suggesting an issue which seemed to them to offer an opportunity to the Holy Father and the majority of escaping from a position which could not but have been full of difficulty and embarrassment to them, without any semblance of defeat, and which would have satisfied all parties. They prepared a memorial to the Pontiff, signed by a great number of Bishops, in which they begged for a prorogation of the Council on the ground of the sanitary condition of Rome. The heat had become very great; many Bishops had already fallen ill during the last few days; it might be expected that many more would from day to day be incapacitated from taking part in the business of the assembly. Would it not be better to adjourn it to a more healthful season?

But this memorial shared the fate of various others, by which many of the leading Bishops had at an earlier period striven with most eloquent entreaties to turn the Pope from his purpose. No answer was returned to it, save that the Pontiff was inexorably determined that the Congregations should continue their work uninterruptedly until the matter for the consideration of which they had been called together should have been discussed.

I must quote again from my guide Pomponio!

"Whoever has felt the Roman summer may imagine the effect it must have produced on all those northern Bishops accustomed to the salubrious airs, the abounding waters, and fresh shades of Germany! In advanced life these mutations of climate, which in other subjects might not produce important consequences, cause serious and immediate results. A great part of those northern Bishops and of their attendants fell ill! It

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is difficult to describe the weariness and discouragement which took possession of those temperaments accustomed to so different a climate during the long sittings and arduous and painful toil of the Council, under a temperature which to the Calabrian, the Spaniard and the Mexican was normal and agreeable. Probably these latter had counted on the effects on their brethren of thirty-eight and thirty-nine degrees of Réaumur in the shade! This consideration had not been absent from the minds of the opposition when they had begged for adjournment. But the South was in the place of power, and the North could not obtain a hearing for this or any other of its pretensions."

In fact there was no longer any doubt that it was definitively determined by the managers of the Assembly and the majority to vote the dogma, for the sake of which the Council had been convened, despite all opposition, by sheer force of numbers. Some thirty German and Hungarian Bishops left Rome; and the party of the opposition was thus seriously weakened. After this the work was pushed on with a haste that was audaciously reckless and indecent. And the conclusion was marked by characteristics which will hereafter undeniably justify the Church of some future day in refusing to recognise the Council of the Vatican as a true and free Council of the Church, and in rejecting the dogmas and definitions it professes to have established. There can be little doubt that such a future will arrive. But whether it will arrive sooner or later, will in all probability depend on the issue of the next Conclave.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

THE INTENTIONS OF THE VATICAN BECOME EVIDENT.—MONDAY THE 4TH JULY IN THE COUNCIL.—VIOLENCE OF THE MAJORITY.—BREAKING UP OF THE SITTING OF THE 4TH.—CONDUCT OF THE DISSENTIENTS CRITICISED.—INDIGNATION OF THE MINORITY.—DIVIDED OPINION OF THE MINORITY.—FORMULA OF THE DOGMA OF THE INFALLIBILITY.—PROTESTANTS MIGHT FREELY SIGN THE FORMULA!—OPINIONS RESPECTING THE WORDING OF THE FORMULA.—MISGIVINGS OF THE PARTY OF THE VATICAN.—THE RESULT OF THE VOTING IN CONGREGATION ON THE 13TH.—DETERMINATION OF THE MAJORITY TO PROCEED AT ALL HAZARDS.—ADDITIONAL CLAUSE TO THE FORMULA.—ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE COUNCIL WAS NOT PROROGUED, ONLY SUSPENDED.—MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION ON THE 17TH.—LAST ATTEMPT AT CONCILIATION.—REJECTION OF IT BY THE POPE.—THE SIGNING OF THE PROTEST, AND RAPID DEPARTURE OF THE PROTESTORS.—THE FINAL VOTING.—TWO NON PLACETS—CARDINAL GUIDI AND THE POPE—ARCHBISHOP MANNING AND THE JESUITS.

FROM the beginning of July there was no longer any possibility of a doubt as to the intentions of the Vatican. It was the unbending purpose of the party which had the power in its hands to override all opposition, and proceed to their aim *per fas aut nefas*. On the Sunday, the 3rd of July, the opposition held a meeting, at which, after much argument, it was determined to cease from all further effort in debate and allow the general discussion to be closed. This would be analogous to allowing the bill to be read a second time. The entirety of the "definition" would have to be voted at a subsequent "congregation," which may be likened to the third reading; but after that a more solemn and formal voting by "Placet" and "Non placet" at a public session in the presence of the Pontiff would be necessary to complete the declaration and promulgation of the dogma.

A Congregation was held on Monday, the 4th. The business in hand was the discussion of the third clause of the "scheme" or law, as we should say, "concerning the Church." This

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third clause concerned the primacy of the See of Rome. The opposition went into "congregation" that day, as we have seen, decided to abandon further discussion. From the very beginning of the day's work the conduct of the majority justified their decision. The first bishop who rose to speak on the opposition side was interrupted by sneers and expressions of impatience and cries of "Abstineas!" "Rinuncias!" and the like. Strossmayer then got up, and declared that he and his friends renounced their right to speak further. Thereupon a Bishop of the majority jumped up, and said that since the opposition had nothing further to say, the discussion might be pronounced to be closed. And Cardinal de Luca, one of the Presidents, losing not a moment in acting on the suggestion, said a few words in praise of it, complimented those who renounced their right to speak as deserving the gratitude of the Assembly, and declared the discussion closed.

Curious was the scene which ensued on this rising of the Fathers almost immediately after the commencement of it! The carriages of almost all of them had been sent away, as nobody had imagined that the sitting would come to so sudden a conclusion. Quietly, many on foot, many huddled together into hack-carriages, they got back to the Vatican, where most of them were lodged, while the Romans were at a loss to think what so unusual a phenomenon indicated, guessing little, as Pomponio Leto says, of the influence which that humble procession was to exercise on the political and religious future of the world!

The conduct of the opposition in thus deciding to abstain from future debate has been much criticised. But in the first place, anything like free debate had become impossible amid the ill-will, the disapprobation, the interruptions, the ironical sneers, and oppression of the majority. Nor, in truth, was there much more to be said on the topics under discussion. The nature of the subject made it inevitably necessary that the same things should be said over and over again. When it had once become clear that the Pope was determined to refuse all proposals of prorogation, and to propose to the Council a formula expressing his personal infallibility pure and simple, there was nothing more to be done than to vote for it, or vote against it! Besides this, there was the very strong consideration that

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further delay was likely, or rather certain, to injure the cause of the opposition instead of the reverse. The strength of the opposition was among the men from the north; and these were the men who could not stand the heat. Day by day the strength of the opposition was weakened by one or more of its members falling ill, or leaving Rome; and, as the only hope of averting the promulgation of the dogma, which they deemed so fatal to the future of the Church, depended on the possibility that the majority might still at the last shrink from publishing as the consentient doctrine of the Universal Church that which was dissented from by so large a portion of it, it was important that the vote should be reached before the number of dissentients was yet further diminished.

From that day, the 4th of July, when the general discussion was closed under circumstances so memorable, matters were pushed on at break-neck speed to the conclusion. The emendations which had been agreed to had to be printed, which caused a little delay; but the votation of the third clause was proceeded to on the 11th. When this clause came to the votation, it was discovered that some words had been added to the formula agreed upon, as was supposed by the Pope himself, The fact gave rise to a manifestation of disgust and indignation on the part of the opposition; but they were so worn-out, so discouraged, so harrassed, and so hopeless, that they allowed the matter to pass without making it the cause of further delay.

The conduct of the opposition raised the hopes of the Vatican greatly—a result which was increased by the knowledge that dissension had entered the ranks of their opponents. The French, under the leadership of the Bishop of Orleans, thought that the best course open to them was to sign a solemn protest, setting forth the excesses of the constraint that had been put upon them, the determination of the Pontiff and the majority to proceed with the work of the Council at a time and under sanitary circumstances intolerable to most of the members of the minority, and the violent repression of all real debate, especially during the latter days, and then to depart. Bishop Haynald and the Germans were, on the contrary, of opinion that they ought at every cost to remain to the end. They argued that so many protests had been made with utter futility already, that it was hardly consistent with the dignity of the opposition

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to make any more; and that, wholly just and true as the grounds of the proposed protest were, they were of such a nature as to be with difficulty proved in a sufficiently cogent and undeniable manner. It might, and ought to have been added, that, inasmuch as their best hope depended on the patent monstrosity of declaring a doctrine to be that of the Universal Church, which was openly declared not to be such by a large number of dissentient *votes*, given in the face of the world by members sitting in the Conncil, it was of the last importance that as large a number as possible of such votes should be recorded at the last formal voting. I do not find that this entirely conclusive argument was urged with the prominence due to it, and there is reason to fear that this was due to the fact that the members of the opposition were by no means sure how far they could count upon the constancy of the individuals composing their party. At all events, the protest was not made, and the opposition seem to have proceeded in a sufficiently disorganised manner with no fixed plan of action.

Before the Congregation separated, after having declared the general discussion of the third clause closed, in the manner that has been related on the 4th of July, the formula of the declaration of Infallibility was at last distributed to the members! This had been long and eagerly waited for by the Assembly, but was not allowed to be known till almost the eve of the day on which it was to be voted! And such a fact alone is sufficient to demonstrate the altogether unjustifiable attitude assumed by those in power at the Vatican towards the Fathers of of the Council. What! were the Bishops of the Universal Church, assembled from every part of Christendom to deliberate upon the teaching which was held to be necessary for the salvation of the souls of the entire human race, to be treated after the fashion of schoolboys going in for a competitive examination, to whom their papers are given out immediately before they are to go to work on them, for fear they should obtain extraneous assistance! And it is dreamed that the preposterous decision of a Council thus treated will be recognised by the Church of future generations as the true voice of the Universal Church!

The *formula* which the Bishops were called upon to vote runs thus;

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"Itaque nos traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicæ exaltationem, et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus, et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus : Romanum Pontificem, cum ex cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea Infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit."

"Therefore We, faithfully adhering to the tradition of the Christian faith as received from the beginning, to the glory of God our Saviour, to the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and to the salvation of Christian peoples, with the approbation of the Sacred Council, teach and define to be a divinely revealed dogma : that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra* (that is, when in the discharge of his office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, he by his supreme Apostolic authority defines any doctrine concerning faith or morals as necessary to be held), has by the Divine assistance promised to him, in the person of St. Peter, the power of that Infallibility, with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be furnished in defining a doctrine concerning faith or morals."

The first thing that strikes a reader on perusal of this document is that it might be signed by any Protestant without hesitation! The Pope is in the possession of that Infallibility which Christ willed that His Church should possess. And that is no infallibility at all! But the formula was proposed to men who firmly believed, or at least were precluded by their antecedents from professing disbelief in, the infallibility of the Church. And the day has not *yet* come when the Church will rid itself of the one proposition by abandoning the other.

It was intended that this formula, distributed on the Monday, should have been considered on the Tuesday or Wednesday, but the insistance of some Bishops that the conclusions come to respecting the third clause should be printed before they were voted, obtained from the Assembly a delay for the consideration of it till the 11th, the following Monday. And the intervening

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days were passed in eager and earnest debate on the wording of the formula, some maintaining that it was worse, some trying to persuade themselves that it was a shade less obnoxious than had been anticipated. But, as Pomponio Leto remarks, all this was of infinitely little import. "When a man has said that snow is white, there is little room for discussion whether it might have been better or worse said. In saying it is white, all is said, and there can be no more talk about it."

Meantime, the Jesuits and the Vatican party were not altogether easy as to the result of the next and the following sittings. Antonelli—as always, more of a statesman than a priest—was anxious, and had misgivings as to the line of conduct that might be adopted by the various Governments of Europe when they found that their Bishops were to have no power of their own, which of course was a national power in some degree depending on the national Sovereignty; but were to be the representatives and mere mouth-pieces of a foreign Power, having interests and a policy of its own, and a discipline more cogent for the guiding of them than any sentiment of national duty or patriotism or allegiance. Antonelli saw this, and was not without anxious misgivings. But he was overruled by bolder or more ignorant spirits.

They were, however, still anxious about the conduct of the minority, and evidently shrank from proceeding to the promulgation of the dogma in the teeth of the proclaimed dissent of such a body as that which still composed the minority. Means were accordingly taken to sound the opposition members individually as to what their line of conduct would be if it was decided to promulgate the doctrine in spite of them. And it was at the same time hinted that a document was being prepared to be presented for signature to all the recusants, by which they undertook either to submit or to vacate their Bishoprics! The opposition did not feel sufficient confidence in all its members to meet this threat with a bold front. And it was certain that the fear of this menace had much effect in producing the upshot which followed.

The amendments which had been proposed to the formula, nearly one hundred in number, were all disposed of on the Monday, the 11th, and Wednesday, the 13th—that is to say, the proposers of them simply renounced their right to support

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them—and the formula was put to the vote—not to the ultimate public vote, it will be understood, but the vote of the Assembly in congregation—on the 13th. The result was as follows:—PLACET, 451.—NON PLACET, 88. *Juxta modum* (*i. e.*, conditionally—in such a case a mere timid mode of saying "Non placet"), 62, among whom were three Cardinals.—Absent, 91, among whom was Antonelli. (About thirty of these were either ill, or had previously left Rome.) The remaining sixty consisted evidently of intentional abstentions. The absence of the Secretary of State was thought to indicate that he was not yet certain what would be the issue.

And there were many persons who, after the vote which has just been recorded, still doubted whether the Jesuitising party would even now succeed in carrying out their programme. The doubt, however, did not last long. When the Assembly separated on the 13th, the Legate managers contented themselves with saying that the votes *juxta modum* would receive due consideration, and a special report be presented respecting them at the next Congregation. It was, however, intimated to the leaders of the opposition that same evening that it was the intention of the Vatican to proceed with its purposes irrespectively of the votes just given, and to name the day for public proclamation of the dogma as soon as possible. The opposition thereupon held a meeting on the Thursday, the 14th, and again on Friday, the 15th, to decide upon the line of conduct they should adopt under these very grave circumstances. It was determined that a committee should be appointed to present themselves personally before the Pope, in the name of the whole of the dissenting members, and implore him to suspend the definition of the dogma, laying before him the necessity which would compel them, if their appeal were disregarded, to repeat to their own great sorrow at the public session before the Universal Church, and in the face of the world, the *Non placet*, which they had spoken in the private Congregation.

The Committee was composed of the Cardinal Schwartzenberg, the Archbishop of Paris, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Archbishop of Milan, and the Archbishop of Halifax.

These prelates did their utmost to move the Holy Father. They spoke much of the danger to the Church which would infallibly arise from schism; they implored him with the most

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earnest entreaties to pause; they pointed out to him that they could count with certainty upon one hundred and twenty votes, and left to his consideration the effect that would be produced by promulgating a dogma by an authority, the whole force of which depends upon the universality of its consent, while such a minority were proclaiming aloud their dissent.

In reply to these urgent remonstrances and entreaties the Pope gave evasive and uncertain answers. He was not sufficiently informed on the subject. He would confer with the Legates on the point. He would consider all that they had represented to him.

This was on the Friday. On Saturday, the 16th, another Congregation was held, in which an amendment to the formula was proposed by the dominant party; and to the stupefaction of the minority, this was found to consist in an intensification of the proposition laid down in the formula as presented on the 13th! It was proposed to add to the formula the words, "*Ideoque ejusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese absque consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse.*" "So that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are in themselves irreversible, and without the consent of the Church."

But the unblushing audacity of so bold and crude an assertion as this was too much even for the sufficiently unscrupulous majority. And the words were changed to "*ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse*"—are in themselves, but not by the consent of the Church, irreversible."

The difference is an infinitesimal one, but it sufficed for the majority; and the additional claim was added to the formula. A further addition was added at the last moment, despite the protestations and endeavours of the minority to escape from it, which was thus worded: *Si quis autem hinc nostræ definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, præsumpserit, anathema sit.*" "But if any one shall presume, which God forbid! to contradict this our definition, let him be anathematised."

Before the Congregation of the 16th separated, the Legates announced that the Council was not to be considered prorogued; that the Holy Father merely granted them a vacation for the summer months, after which they would again be invited to the Vatican to continue their labours.

This was the work of the Congregation of Saturday, the 16th,

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And the solemn public sitting of the Council at which the dogma was to be promulgated was fixed for Monday, the 18th. During the hours which remained between the close of the Congregation on Saturday and the opening of the session on Monday, the opposition continued by every possible means, by written supplications, by *viva voce* representations, to avert the result, or at least obtain some delay. Their efforts were, as surely they must have known, wholly fruitless! A portion of the opposition limited their efforts to obtaining the suppression of the last phrase in which the anathema is launched against dissidents. But it was all unavailing.

On the Sunday, the 17th, the members of the opposition held a last meeting, at which it was debated yet once again whether they should appear at the public sitting and utter their solemn "Non placet," or whether they should protest and leave Rome. The latter opinion was adopted! But before it was finally determined on, the Archbishop of Vienna went yet once again on that Sunday afternoon to the Pope, to make one final appeal, and failing, to inform him of the line of conduct which the dissentient Bishops had determined to adopt. Upon this occasion the manner and behaviour of his Holiness was altogether changed from what it had been, when the last committee waited on him. He received the Arbhbishop with a short and sharp refusal to hear him, and added observations of so little kindly a sort, that on the return of this last messenger of conciliation, the dissentients signed their protest in all haste, and made all the speed they could to leave Rome, "from fear," says Pomponio Leto, who unquestionably knew what he was talking about, "that the victorious party might proceed to personal violence, or that when the dogma was once promulgated, they might find themselves in the hard alternative of being compelled to submit or to abandon their sees; perhaps even—who knows?—to quit the bosom of the Church altogether—a fear to which the addition of the 'anathema' to the formula lent but too much countenance."

On that Sunday evening a protest was signed by sixty-three Bishops, all of them the occupants of sees with cure of souls, and the majority of them holding the most illustrious sees in Christendom. And most of them were before morning beyond

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the frontiers, fortunately not distant, of the territory of the Holy Father!

On the fated 18th of July, therefore, there was nothing further to impede the accomplishment of the purpose of the Holy Father and the Jesuitising portion of the Church. The historians of the Council—men little given ordinarily to "graphic" writing or sensational modes of thought—tell of the black skies, and of the tremendous thunderstorm, which broke over the Eternal City, while the work of the Council was being consummated at this last sitting on the 18th of July. It shows at least how deeply their minds were moved by the event. Of the 692 members of which the Council was composed, there were present in the hall on that day 535. And 533 pronounced the "Placet" which was required of them. Two only, the Bishop of Caiazzo, in the Neapolitan territory, and the Bishop of Little Rock, in Arkansas, said in reply to the roll-call, "Non placet." The latter was the last name called in the roll, and his strong "Non placet," the last word of all the debate heard in that hall, sounded as it rung beneath the vaults as the condemnation of the Council!

Those who signed the protest ought unquestionably to have done as those two did! No doubt many and valid excuses are to be found in the circumstances of the case for the line which, upon the whole, they thought it best to adopt, but it would have been better had they judged otherwise. Nor, considering the nature of the forces and persons against whom they had to struggle, can it be considered at all certain that the Vatican and its party would have at the last minute proceeded to the promulgation of the dogma in the face of the "Non placet" of so numerous and such a body of dissentients. As it was, they made the path of their adversaries plain before them!

And if only they could have looked forward but a little! if only they could have protracted matters for about sixty more days or so! if only they could have reached the quickly-coming 20th of September—the Infallibility would never have been promulgated!

As it was, the body of protestors and seceders gave a notable example to many whose opinions were equally adverse to the dogma, but whose firmness was not equal to theirs! There were many conversions at the last hour. Among others Cardinal

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Guidi, whose strong speech against the dogma had made such a sensation, bowed his head and uttered his "Placet'" It was said that the Pope looked him full in the face when his name was called and he had to give his vote, and muttered "Buon' uomo" when he heard him thus speak what he knew to be against his conscience! But the mind of Pius the Ninth is above all else one of those in which allegiance to himself is a merit paramount, and sufficient to eclipse all other faults or virtues.

The Archbishops of Pisa, Rheims, Avignon, and Salzburg were among the converts of the last hour.

There is one other name and one other fact that must be placed on record before this necessarily very imperfect sketch of the story of the Council is brought to a conclusion. There are a great many persons in more than one country of Europe who would do well to remember the fact in conjunction with the name.

On the day of the promulgation of the dogma, the Archbishop of Westminster received a present of the portrait of Bellarmine, with the following inscription:

HENRICO EDVARDO MANNING,
ARCHIEP. WESTMONAST.
SODALES SOC. JESU.
COLLEGII CIVILTATIS CATHOLICÆ
SESSIONIS IV. CONCILII VATICANI
MNEMOSYNON.*

* To Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, the members of the Society of Jesus, of the Association of the Civiltà Cattolica, this memorial of the fourth session of the Vatican Council.

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BOOK V.

PIUS THE NINTH AS A PRIVATE BISHOP.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MISFORTUNE OF FRANCE WAS ITALY'S OPPORTUNITY.—JULES FAVRE AND THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT.—VICTOR EMMANUEL'S LETTER TO THE POPE.—MINGHETTI'S REPORT FROM VIENNA.—REPLY OF THE BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT.—REPLY FROM BADEN.—FROM ENGLAND.—FROM BELGIUM.—QUESTION OF CATHOLIC INTERVENTION.—SPIRITUAL LIBERTY OF THE PONTIFF.—POPE'S LETTER TO GENERAL KANZLER.—COUNT ARNIM'S INTERCESSION.—ENTRY OF THE ITALIAN TROOPS INTO ROME.—STRUGGLE AT THE BREACH.—TERMS OF CAPITULATION.—PLEBISCITE.—DECREE OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT.—CIRCULAR TO REPRESENTATIVES AT FOREIGN COURTS.—LAW OF THE GUARANTEES.—VANITY OF IT.—HOLY SEE REJECTS AN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE.—THE POPE IN HIS NEW CHARACTER.—APPLICATION TO AUSTRIA, AND AUSTRIAN REPLY.

In those scorching July days, when the Roman climate was contributing perhaps even more remarkably than ever before to the working out of the history of the Papacy, both the temporal and the spiritual fortunes of Pius the Ninth and his Church were being hurried forward with extraordinary rapidity on the path of this destined evolution. Of course it was clear enough to everybody, to the friends of the Vatican, to those of Victor Emmanuel, and to the French Government equally, that the former depended, at all events for the nonce, on the fortune of the war between Germany and France. The Church, amid the storms which had overtaken her, had no earthly support to hope save that of her eldest son. That her eldest son's object in supporting her was to make her serve as the means of preventing the unification of Italy, she of course perfectly well understood. But the support tendered was none the less, rather the more, valuable on that account, in that the continuance of it was the more assured.

But now it seemed likely that France would no longer be able to give support to anybody or anything! Scarcely could the progress of the war have been watched in Paris itself with more breathless anxiety and interest than in Rome! The

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Moses of the Vatican held up his hands, we may be very sure, unweariedly! But his prayers were unavailing; and the events which were darkening the horizon of the temporal power hurried on to the moment of total eclipse.

All around the horizon the helmsman of St. Peter's barque looked, and there was no hope anywhere. The last French troop which had lingered at Civita Vecchia left it on the 19th of August. On the 21st and the 24th the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate sitting at Florence urged the Italian Ministry to "solve the Roman question in accordance with the national aspirations." On the 29th the Italian Foreign Minister desired the Cavaliere Nigra, the Italian Minister at Paris, to call the attention of the French Government to the fact that circumstances were very "grave" in Italy, and in short, that the time had come when it was impossible any longer for the Italian Government to hold off from taking possession of the remaining shred of pontifical territory and of Rome. It seems almost cruel to have "called the attention" of the rulers of France to anything at that moment. It was like compelling a man to look into the accounts of his estate when he is *in extremis*. Four days later Sedan was fought, and all was over! And on the 8th of September poor Jules Favre said to the Italian representative, in reply to further intimations as to the course the Italian Government was about to take:—

"The Convention of the 15th of September is dead enough. Nevertheless I will not *declare* it to be at an end. If France was victorious and prosperous I would willingly yield to your wish." (*Credat Judæus Apella!* If France had been victorious, France would unquestionably never have quitted Rome!) "But my country is conquered! And I am too unhappy to have the courage to inflict pain on a venerable old man who is himself in misfortune. I will not therefore formally declare the Convention of the 15th of September to be at an end. But neither will I demand the execution of it. I have neither the power nor the wish to prevent anything. I think with you that if you do not go to Rome, Rome will fall into the power of dangerous agitators. I shall prefer to see you there. But it must be perfectly understood that France gives you no consent, and that you accomplish this enterprise on your own proper and unique responsibility." In a word, the misfortune

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of France was Italy's opportunity. Nobody in Europe could possibly be unaware of that; and nobody was disposed to move a finger to prevent her from using her opportunity. On the 7th, Visconti Venosta, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed all the powers by circular of the purpose of the Italian Government to take possession of Rome and its territory: and on the 8th, Count Ponza di S. Martino carried an autograph letter from Victor Emmanuel to the Pope, informing His Holiness that the King found himself under the necessity of occupying Rome in the interest of the Holy Father's own safety and the preservation of order. Nor was this in the smallest degree a hypocritical manner of putting the fact. For it is beyond all question, that if the Government of the King of Italy had held aloof, and had simply let the forces in action take their course, there would have ensued a revolution at Rome and a downfall of the Pope of a very different kind and degree from that which the Pontiff suffered at the hands of the Italian Government. Nor would the Pope or his friends attempt to deny this. But they would say: "You ought truly to have come and put down revolution and preserved order, but you ought to have done so for us and not for yourselves."

On the 10th, Minghetti, resident Minister representing the Italian Government at Vienna, wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "It is the earnest wish of the Government that our occupation of the territory and City of Rome should, if possible, take place without conflict or the shedding of blood, and that all regards may be paid to the Pope, so that he may be able to remain in his See. The Austro-Hungarian Government has no intention of putting any obstacle in the way of our action as regards the pontifical territory and Rome." The Minister resident at Muuich wrote on the same day to the effect that the Bavarian Government desired the reconciliation of the Holy Father with Italy; but that if the Italian Government thought proper to proceed to occupy Rome, the Bavarian Government would adhere to its declared purpose of not intervening in Italian affairs. The Grand Ducal Minister at Baden at the same time expresses himself as recognising the right of the Italian Government to act freely with reference to the requirements of its own needs in the present circumstances. Eng-

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land did not feel herself called upon to interfere even by an observation. The Italian Minister at London writes to his Government on the 13th that, "having mentioned in his conversation with Lord Granville the fact of the occupation of the papal territory by the Italian troops, his lordship did not express any opinion, and less still any objection, on the subject." The Belgian Government, or the Italian Minister at that Court, writing on the 12th—recognises that the temporal power is not necessary to the Holy Father's discharge of his functions towards the world, but points out that "it is necessary at all cost to find some combination which shall permit him to exercise his spiritual functions with full and entire liberty of action, and further, that such a combination should receive the collective guarantee of the great Catholic Powers."

Here the Belgian Government, by the mouth of Mons. Anethan, touched a burning question of which the world has not yet heard the last. As to the necessity for the guarantee of the Powers, which he speaks of, it must be presumed that the statesmen who ruled the other Catholic Powers did not agree with him in this respect, for no such guarantee was, so far as is known, asked for by the Apostolic See, and certainly none such was given. Nevertheless, this question of liberty for the exercise of the spiritual functions of the Papacy seems likely to occasion a greater degree of trouble in Europe than the simplicity of the principles which ought to regulate it would seem to justify. It would be desirable that any person, statesman or other, seeking to form a clear opinion on the subject, should begin by asking himself what exactly he means by "spiritual power?" And surely the asking of such a question would very shortly lead the asker to the admission of the fact that the only possible or conceivable spiritual power which any human being can exercise must consist in persuading some other human being to think, or feel, or believe something, or in acting on such persuasion already achieved. Now, the liberty of exercising this spiritual power is assured to every citisen of every free government (certainly to every citizen of the Kingdom of Italy), within certain limits, and has never been, and can never be, granted to any man beyond those limits. No civil government in the world can permit, or has permitted, any man to use an eloquent tongue or a powerful pen in persuading others to break the

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law. If attempts to do so have been disregarded, it has been because rulers have considered the persons making the attempt to be incapable of exercising any spiritual power. Nor, to come down to the naked truth, which will most assuredly have to be recognised sooner or later, will it be possible that any spiritual liberty greater than that so guaranteed to all should be allowed to the Pope. Perfect freedom of communication with all the agents by whose means he exercises this spiritual power, is, of course, assured to him by the same means and within the same limits. But, once for all, the pretensions which Catholic ecclesiastics in all countries have put forward so loudly, which some Catholic Governments have in a hesitating, half-hearted sort of way, shown some disposition to put forward, and which the Italian Government has not as yet felt itself strong enough to deny absolutely with that firmness with which it will be inevitably necessary to deny it—pretensions to the effect that, whereas certain other countries contain vast numbers of Catholics among their subjects, and whereas all these Catholics deem it essential to their religious interests that the Pope should enjoy certain liberties or prerogatives beyond such as are conceded to any other subject, therefore the Governments of the countries in which such Catholic populations live, have some more or less clearly defined right to demand of the Italian Government that the Pope should have some status in Italy different from that of any other subject—all such pretensions, I say, will have to be utterly and entirely disallowed. Doubtless these considerations may be made use of by the Pontiff as an argument that the only solution of the inherent difficulties of the case is that he should be an independent sovereign *somewhere*. It may be so, say the Italians, but nothing imposes on *us* the duty or the necessity of furnishing you with the required kingdom. We cannot spare Rome. It is in nowise incumbent upon us to care for the religious necessities of the inhabitants of other countries, and we decline to supply the Pope with a sovereignty for their behoof here!

There are indications that it may be necessary for the Italian Government to assume the ground there indicated with firmness. But it is certain that at the moment which must surely have seemed the most proper time for the formal putting forward of any such demands, no one of the Governments of

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Europe made any attempt of the kind, nor did any other than Belgium hazard a suggestion on the subject so outspoken as that of Mgr. Anethan.

At the present day (June 1877) it is impossible to avoid being struck by the light which the history of the Vatican from that day to this, and especially that of the last few months, has thrown upon the theory and the demand put forward by the Belgian Minister. It does not seem to have been sufficiently noted at the time, or, indeed, subsequently, that Mgr. Anethan was demanding for the Pope a greater degree of liberty of action than he has ever enjoyed, at all events for the last three hundred years! What would Louis XIV.—what would Bossuet have said to such a demand? When has the Pope been allowed full and entire liberty for the exercise of his spiritual functions; that is the free use of his powers of authority and persuasion over the subjects of a sovereign State? But this is in fact what he has been enjoying and very unrestrictedly using under the *régime* made for him by the legislation of the Italian Parliament. No demand to such an effect as that suggested by Mgr. Anethan was made by any of the European powers, but Italy unasked provided it for the Pontiff. If Pius the Ninth had continued to be a temporal sovereign, with a kingdom of his own, is it conceivable that he could have ventured on such utterances as he has on repeated occasions indulged in lately? A temporal sovereign is exposed to attack by the same secular means as those which can be brought to bear on every other government. As things are at present, the Pope is absolutely safe from any such modes of dealing with him. He has the inestimable advantage of being *Vox et præterea nihil!* And those to whom that voice is a source of infinite danger and calamity have the immense disadvantage which must ever attend those who have to contend against spiritual with material power, *plus* the difficulty arising from the engagements which Italy has assumed towards the Papacy!

Returning, however, to the course of events, as they developed themselves at that critical moment of the Pontiff's deposition from his temporal throne, the Holy Father wrote, on the 19th of that eventful September, as follows to General Kanzler, the commander-in-chief of his forces:

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"Now that the great sacrilege and most enormous injustice is about to be consummated, I feel the desire to thank you, General, for your willingness to consecrate yourself to the defence of this metropolis. As regards the duration of the defence, it ought to consist merely in a protest sufficient to give evidence of the exercise of violence, and nothing more; that is to say, to open negotiations for the giving up of the city as soon as ever a breach shall have been effected."

Count Arnim, then resident at Rome as representative of Prussia, endeavoured in vain to prevail on the Pontifical Government to abandon the idea of offering any opposition to the entrance of the Italian troops, and on that same day, the 19th of September, the 4th division of the Italian army surrounded all that part of the city which lies on the left bank of the Tiber, and at ten the next morning, the famous entry of the Italian troops at the breach of Porta Pia, after a short and perfunctory resistance on the part of the papal troops, took place.

In the short struggle, which, in accordance with the directions which the Pope had given to General Kanzler, was maintained no longer than was sufficient to show to all the world that the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops was accomplished by violence, eighteen private soldiers and three officers were killed, and a hundred and twelve soldiers and five officers wounded.

The terms of capitulation were as follows:

"The City of Rome, with the exception of that part of it which forms the Leonine City (the part on the right bank of the Tiber, including Castel St. Angelo, the Vatican, and St. Peter's), together with its armament, banners, etc., is given up to the troops of H.M. the King of Italy. The garrison goes out with the honours of war. The foreign troops are to be disbanded and sent to their own countries. The native troops to be handed over without their arms, retaining their present pay."

On the 1st of October, the votes of the population of Rome were taken on the question whether they would become the subjects of Victor Emmanuel, or remain subjected to the Pope. The next morning the result was published at the Capitol as follows: For the King, 40,785; for the Pope, 46! The numbers indicate decisively enough the force of the stream and the rush that was carrying men's minds away, but it indicates no-

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thing else! There never has been, in these modern Vox-populi-vox-Dei days, a *plébiscite*, the attendant circumstances of which have not shown the entire proceeding to be a farce! And the voting of the Italian people was assuredly no exception to the rule!

The "voting" of the Cabinets of Europe was yet more unanimous. They all without exception felicitated the King of Italy on the step he had taken, that of Paris being the most effusive of them all!

On the 9th of October, the Italian Government published a decree in these terms: "Rome and the Roman provinces form a part of the Kingdom of Italy. The Supreme Pontiff preserves the dignity, the inviolability, and all the personal prerogatives of a Sovereign."

On the 18th of the same month the Foreign Minister, Visconti Venosta, sent a circular to the Italian representatives at the different Courts, in which he says: "Our first duty in making Rome the capital of Italy is to declare that the Catholic world will not be menaced in its religious beliefs by the fact of the achievement of our unity. The great situation which personally belongs to the Holy Father, his character of Sovereign, his pre-eminence over other Catholic princes, the civil list which belongs to him, will be amply guaranteed to him. His palaces and residences will have the privilege of extra-territoriality."

And then came "the law of the guarantees," and all the rest of the floods of talk, and promises, and assurances, none of which served in any degree to console, satisfy, or reassure the Pontiff, reasonably enough. Every word that he says in pointing out that the "guarantees" offered him are no guarantees at all is abundantly true! Law of guarantees! Why, a vote of the Chamber can unmake it as a vote hath made! What can a parliamentary Government guarantee? Just as much as, and no more, than, an infallible Pope, soon to be succeeded by an equally infallible successor, who is as competent to undo as he is to do! The Pope and his advisers were right enough in their utter refusal to accept the guarantee law as any guarantee at all; but they perhaps hardly considered how soon their adversaries might remind them of all the arguments they used to prove that such guarantees might be, and were likely to be, overruled, set aside, and disregarded if not by the same men

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who voted them when in a different mind, at all events by the parliamentary generation which was to follow them !

The Pope and his counsellors were equally determined not to stoop to the acceptance of even such somewhat greater security of guarantee as might have been assured to them by giving to the law in question the character of an international fact. On the 4th of January, 1871, the Minister representing the French Government at Rome wrote to M. Jules Favre that Cardinal Antonelli replied to the offers of the Powers to concert together for the demanding from the Italian Government some *minimum* of guarantee for the Holy See to the effect that "the Holy Father could not ask for anything other than reintegration in his rights, or even wish that the Powers should solicit concessions, which they would necessarily have to pay for by a more or less formal recognition of a state of things against which the Holy See has protested and will continue to protest."

Meanwhile the Holy Father lost not an instant in assuming the attitude and "get up" which he deemed adapted for the new part he had to play before the public of Europe. The scene-shifters had barely had time to run the new decorations into their places before the Pontiff came out from behind the scenes in the character of the unfortunate prisoner, putting his hand through the gratings of his prison window, with "Pity the sorrows of a poor old man !" His first movements in his new character were not successful, however. On the 16th of that October the Italian Minister at Vienna wrote to his Government to say that Cardinal Antonelli had asked Count Trautmansdorff, then Austrian Foreign Minister, whether he would so far pity the sorrows of a poor old man as to intercede with the Italian Government to obtain permission for the Holy Father to pass across the Italian territory so as to get out of Rome ? and telling how the Austrian Government in reply had winked at the Holy Father and told him that he was "a jolly old humbug !" at least I take that to be the correct translation into the vernacular of the Austrian Minister's answer to the effect that he imagined that the Italian Government needed no intercession to induce it to leave to the Holy Father full liberty of movement, but that the advice which he should permit himself to offer with all possible respect to the Holy Father, would be that he should stay where he was.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE END OF THE POPE'S CIVIL SOVEREIGNTY.—THE COMING OF THE KING TO ROME.—POPE'S APPEAL TO THE POWERS.—ADDRESS BY THE POPE TO THE FRENCH MINISTER, 26TH OF APRIL, 1871.—IMPOSSIBILITY OF SATISFYING THE PAPAL DEMANDS.—THE POPE NEVER ENJOYED FULL SPIRITUAL LIBERTY AT ANY TIME.—NOR CAN HE EVER BE PERMITTED TO DO SO.—SUSPENSION OF THE SITTINGS OF THE COUNCIL.—CIRCULAR OF THE ITALIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—THE COUNCIL COULD HAVE MET IN PERFECT FREEDOM.—COMEDY OF THE POPE'S IMPRISONMENT.

So now "the great sacrilege was consummated!" The patient work of fifteen centuries was all undone, and the Pope was put back again to where he was before Constantine "fece il primo ricco padre!"

Of course the very marks of respect and deference with which the Italian Government and the statesmen of other countries sought to gild the pill, which they had all made up their minds that the Pope must be forced to swallow, had to the mind of the Holy Father all the bitterness of covert irony. The King came to Rome on the last day of the year, taking occasion of this his first visit to his new capital from his desire to visit and assist those who were suffering from the effects of the recent inundation of the Tiber. And no sooner had he arrived than he wrote to his Holiness in the most obsequious terms, telling him the nature of his visit and its motive. Of course the letter seemed like an insult to the Pontiff! It would have seemed worse to come and take no notice of him! It was one of those cases in which it was impossible to do right, or satisfy the person you had to deal with. Flog high, flog low, the Holy Father still cried out against the operation!

He still seems to have retained a hope that the last outrage and indignity of establishing the capital and the Government of the usurpers under his nose in his own Rome might be spared him. He told the representatives of the Catholic Powers, as

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we learn from a despatch from Count d'Harcourt to M. Jules Favre—28th February, 1871—that he comprehended the impossibility of an armed intervention in his favour ; but he did hope that the Governments would not sanction the daily increasing pretensions of the Court of Florence, and would not authorize their representatives accredited to King Victor Emmanuel to follow him to Rome; and trusted that they would cause the Italian Government to comprehend that it was doing wrong to transport the capital to Rome.

But it was all no use! Nobody would stir a finger to help the Holy Father in his distress! And there appears to have been a moment when his hopes and demands were limited to more humble proportions, than has, as it should seem, subsequently been the case. On the 26th of April in that year, 1871, addressing M. d'Harcourt, the French Minister accredited to the Vatican, he said :

"I am sensible to the good wishes you transmit to me. It is the interest of all nations that the condition of Rome should not remain such as it is at present. You have troubles of your own, which do not leave to you liberty of action. I ask no more than ought to be asked. I desire only that your Government should counsel the Italian Cabinet to be prudent, and should warn it to proceed cautiously, and not adopt precipitate measures, or enter on paths which may easily become dangerous. They want at all hazards to establish themselves definitely at Rome ; and there are a thousand reasons why Rome can never become their capital. But the future will be as it may please God. Sovereignty is not to be sought for in such times as the present. I know that better than any other, be he who he may. All that I desire is some corner of earth where I may be supreme. Not that I would refuse the proffer, if the offer of restoring to me my States were made to me; but as long as I have not such a corner of earth, I cannot exercise my spiritual functions in all their completeness."

But the main difficulty and objection to furnishing him with any such corner of earth, consists in the fact that none of the Governments of the world would be content to allow him to exercise his spiritual power in all its completeness. When was he ever allowed to do so? The possession of his territory as an Italian Sovereign did not help him much in the matter,

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Louis the Fourteenth—pious Catholic as he was—did not allow him so much liberty for the exercise of his spiritual power as the present Italian Government does! The fact is, that a human being, whom several millions of other human beings persist in believing to be an infallible teacher in faith and morals, is a most portentous and disastrous phenomenon, pregnant with danger to all human society. And it is wholly impossible and out of the question that such a person should be allowed the unlimited exereise of his spiritual power! No civic power has ever done so; none will ever do so! If the Pope had the corner of earth he told the French Minister was all he asked, he might exercise his supreme liberty by speaking, writing, and printing what he pleased. But does anybody imagine that other States would allow his words to have any such publicity as might be deemed dangerous within their own borders?

The true answer, therefore, to the complaints of the Pontiff that the loss of the temporal power involves the loss of his liberty of spiritual action, is that his temporal power never yet secured to him any such liberty; that no temporal dominion would secure it to him now, short of a despotism co-extensive with Catholicism; that it never was, never will be, and never can be conceded to him. It is mere shuffling and equivocating to attempt to maintain that the Pope, as it is, has liberty to exercise his spiritual power in its entirety. He has no such power—and it cannot be permitted to him!

And the principal occupation of his leisure (so far as the outside world may presume to penetrate the secrets of his "prison-house") has consisted in proving to the world how totally impossible it is that he should be entrusted with any such liberty. One of his first acts was the suspension of the Council, which had been told that it was to meet again this autumn. On the 20th of October an Apostolic letter contained the following announcement: "The sacrilegious invasion of this holy city, and of the remnant of the provinces of our temporal dominion, perpetrated against all law, and with incredible audacity and perfidy, have violated the indefeasible rights of our civil principality and of the Apostolic See, and have placed us, by the permission of God for His inscrutable reasons, in such a position that we are absolutely subjected to another and a hostile

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Power. In which deplorable state of things, seeing that we are impeded in the free exercise of our authority, and that the Fathers of the Vatican Council could not enjoy the liberty, security, and tranquillity necessary for treating in conjunction with us the affairs of the Church . . . we suspend the said Council until a more opportune and fitting time to be named by his Apostolic See."

To this manifesto the Foreign Minister, Visconti Venosta, replied by a circular addressed to all the Italian representatives at foreign Courts, in order that they might bring it under the notice of the respective Governments to which they were accredited, to the following effect:

"The Pontifical Bull by which his Holiness has announced the suspension of the sittings of the Council alleges, as the cause of that suspension, the want of liberty which the Council would have to suffer in conseqence of the new order of things established at Rome. It is my duty to declare that there is nothing to justify these fears. It is evident that the Holy Father is free to call together the Council at St. Peter's or in any other church of Rome or Italy."

He should have added that it was equally evident that the Council might, when so called together, have deliberated in perfect freedom, without the smallest attempt on the part of any human being to disturb, influence, or meddle with them or their deliberations in any way. And I am afraid that it is beyond the power of the utmost effort that charity can make, to suppose that the Pope and his advisers were not quite as well aware of that fact as every one else was! It was the Holy Father's first public appearance in his new part in the great comedy which has been in the course of representation before Europe from that time to the present—a period of about seven years!

All that time the comedy has been played with persistent and admirable constancy and patience! All the gorgeous and impressive ceremonials in the church of St. Peter and the Sistine chapel, in which the Holy Father used to take part, are discontinued. The Pontiff cannot perform his part in them because he is a prisoner! The Cardinals cannot show themselves in the

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streets of Rome because the Pope is a prisoner; and besides it is clear that they would of course be insulted, if not murdered, were they seen by the people! In remote parts of Europe, where distance could lend enchantment to the view, straws from the litter on which the Holy Father had slept in his prison cell have been sold as precious relics! And no allocution has contained any word calculated to tranquillise the hearts of the faithful on this score! In a word, by himself, by all about him, and by thousands of tongues and pens in every part of Europe, this comedy has been persistently played for the last six years and more; and the entire story of the remaining years of the life of the Pontiff has nothing further to tell save his consistent and admirable playing of it!

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CHAPTER XXXV.

PUBLISHED DISCOURSES OF THE POPE.—SOME SPECIMENS OF THEM.—THE POPE'S DAILY LIFE.—SECRETARY.—HEADS OF CONGREGATIONS.—FOREIGN AMBASSADORS.—BISHOPS.—PRIVATE PERSONS.—MODE OF RECEIVING PRIVATE PERSONS.—POPE'S ROYAL MEMORY.—THE POPE'S WALK.—HIS GARDEN SEAT.—HIS AVIARY.—DINNER.—HIS READING OF THE NEWSPAPERS.—HIS EVENING.—THE POPE A BAD SLEEPER.—UNAFFECTED BY THE DEATH OF ANTONELLI, AND EVEN BY THAT OF HIS OLD CAT.—UNLIKE POPE PAUL THE THIRD IN THIS RESPECT.

FROM the 5th of January, 1871, to the 13th of May, 1875, the Pontiff pronounced four hundred and eleven discourses, which have been published in three octavo volumes, and occupy between thirteen and fourteen hundred octavo pages. This would give an average of nearly two discourses every week, and many of them are of considerable length. It cannot in truth be said that the prison life of the incarcerated Pope has been an idle one. And these discourses represent but a small portion of his activity.

It cannot, indeed, be said that the preparation or delivery of these discourses required or indicate either the possession or the exercise of any notable mental powers. They consist of little more than a slightly varied repetition of the same thing over and over again. The deplorable condition to which the Church has by God's anger, roused on account of some altogether inscrutable causes, been reduced—the consequent advance and increase of wickedness in the world, especially here in Rome—the never-ceasing efforts of "the revolution" (by which is meant indistinctly the Italian Government, modern civilisation and freethought generally) to destroy Catholicism—the constant insults offered to religion and to the Supreme Pontiff—the inability for the due discharge of his religious functions to which he has been reduced by his imprisonment—

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and his hope for a speedy recovery of the Church from her eclipse, together with his absolute certainty of such a recovery in God's good time; such is the constant subject-matter of his discourses, delivered often, specially to religious persons of his own Church, very much in the ordinary form and manner of a very commonplace Roman Catholic preacher.

The classes of persons to whom these discourses have been delivered were exceedingly various: "To the new Archbishops;" "To a hundred Roman girls bringing a carpet as a gift;" "To a party of English Catholics;" "To the women of certain Roman parishes;" "To a deputation of Roman young men;" "To the parish priests of Rome;" "To a deputation from the diocese of Tarragona;" "To a deputation of women from Goriza;" "To a great number of foreigners;" "To French, to English, to Germans, to Spaniards, to Catholics, to heretics (almost exclusively English and Americans), to deputations of every imaginable kind, to pilgrims from every part of the world!" And occasionally some few words and phrases may generally be found which are or may be supposed to be especially adapted to the occasion in hand. But the main subject of the Holy Father's eloquence is the same.

To a large number of ladies—chiefly foreigners—who waited on him on the 9th of March, 1871; he said: "You are come to see him whom they call the prisoner of the Vatican! And truly I am such! Physically speaking I could go out doubtless. But morally I could not do so* without seeing a spectacle of misery, scandal, and profound affliction, such as is presented by the city so changed for the worse as it now is. Every step, every glance would overcome me! For this reason I will never go out hence until God puts an end to this bitter trial to which He has seen fit to subject me. Your prayers will hasten that day," etc. On the 17th of December, 1871, speaking to the Romans of the parish of *Santa Maria in Portico*, he said: "I am not John the Baptist, but I also may say of myself what he said of himself: 'EGO SUM VOX.' If he was a voice crying in the wilderness, if he said, '*Ego vox clamantis in deserto*,' I am a voice that cries from the Vatican. *Ego vox clamantis de Vaticano!*"

* Here, as frequently, the Holy Father's mode of expression is faulty. He means to say, "Morally I cannot go out; for if I did go out, I should see," etc., etc.

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Often his talk is little better that mere nonsense, as in the following specimen. It occurs in a discourse addressed to certain "Daughters of Mary" from a certain parish in Rome. Telling them to be active in prayer and good works, so as not to merit the reproach of standing idly gazing up to heaven, he continues—the thought evidently suggested merely by the words he had just uttered: "Certainly I should not say to certain people, 'Why stand ye looking up into heaven?' I should say rather, 'Why do ye look down upon the earth?' Those too who have the public affairs in their hands, those who govern, look down upon the earth. Or rather I would say better, the world has always been so; it has always looked down upon the earth. Now, these men do not simply look down on earth, but truly they look into the depth under the earth. I tell you that you ought to look up to heaven, and to work for heaven. All the rest has nothing to do with our eternal salvation."

But these discourses, as I have said, are the result of but a small part of the activity of the Holy Father's life, since he has been playing at being a prisoner in the Vatican. And the following brief account of one of the Holy Father's days will be accepted as indicating a very extraordinary amount of activity and capacity for work in an old man between eighty and ninety years of age.

He gets up,* whether in summer or in winter, at six, and immediately "celebrates," that is to say, performs a mass, as every Roman Catholic priest, whether beneficed or not beneficed, is bound to do every day of his life, and to do fasting. Immediately after having celebrated, the Pope hears a mass; and then he goes to his breakfast—a simple cup of coffee and a morsel of bread. Directly after breakfast the Secretary of State—for so many years Antonelli, now his successor, Cardinal Simeoni—comes to him for the transaction of business; and there is always plenty in hand to be transacted. Then, as soon as the Secretary leaves him, the heads of the different Congregations wait on him. These are Cardinals presiding each over one of the great variety of "Congregations," or permanent commissions, which the Apostolic Court has established for the supervision of different departments of the business of the Universal Church. There is the Congregation of the Inquisition, the Congregation of Consistories, the Con-

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gregation of Episcopal Residences, the Congregation of the Condition of the Regular Clergy, the Congregation of Ecclesiastical Immunities, the Congregation of the College de Propaganda Fide, the Congregation for the Affairs of the Eastern Church, the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics, of the Fabric of St. Peter's, of the Holy House of Loreto, and many others. Of course the Cardinals presiding over all these Congregations do not need to have interviews with the Holy Father every day. But there is no day on which some one or other, and probably several of them, have some business which needs to be attended to.

After the Presidents of the Congregations such of the Foreign Ambassadors as may desire to see the Holy Father are introduced. And it is rarely the case that some one or more of these does not occupy the Pope's attention for some portion of the morning. After the Ambassadors, any Bishops who may have come to Rome on business which requires an interview with the Pontiff are admitted; and of such visitors, if only for purposes of compliment, there are always many. Then come the audiences of people of all sorts, who wish to see and pay their respects to the Pope. These are of the most varied description. Sometimes there will be a "pilgrimage" to be received; sometimes a deputation from some body associated for some pietistic purpose; an association of schoolgirls in Normandy for the special "cultus" of the Sacred Heart; young men from the Tyrol; or old women from Belgium banded together to gather Peter's pence for the Holy Father in his dungeon; sometimes a body of the faithful of both sexes; often a mixed company of Catholics and heretics, gentlemen and ladies, English, German, French, Americans, Spaniards, and from every country under the sun. The non-Catholic are almost entirely English and Americans. None are refused. And these are the parties to whom for the most part the three volumes of discourses which have been referred to were addressed. These audiences are generally appointed

* The following account is mainly taken from a letter sent by the present writer to the *Standard*. He had the means at the time of knowing the statements contained in it to be correct, and thinks, therefore, that he cannot do better than reproduce it.

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for midday. But the party to be received often has to wait a considerable time, which is in nowise the fault of the Pontiff or dependent on his will. All the time that he keeps them waiting is so much cut off from his own very restricted recreation hour, which follows the audience. But it is impossible to tell beforehand how long the business to be transacted with the Ambassadors, or with the heads of Congregations, or with the Bishops may detain him.

At the audience he usually walks down one side of the gallery, at the far end of which his red velvet and gilt arm-chair is placed, and back again to his seat on the other side, so as thus to pass immediately in front of each person present, to some of whom he often addresses a few words. It is well-known in Rome, but it may not be so in England, that the etiquette on these occasions is for gentlemen to wear ordinary evening dress, and ladies black up to the neck, no other head covering save a black lace veil, and no gloves. For the most part, his manner on these occasions is very cheerful, and many anecdotes are current in Rome of little incidents said to have occurred at the audiences of more mixed character. The general gist of them is such as to indicate a kindly, good-humoured, but essentially shallow nature. When receiving, he usually addresses to his visitors a few words from his seat, which are spoken in a voice audible thence throughout the long gallery. Rarely when the assemblage consists of a mixed party of Catholics and Protestants, does the Pontiff ever touch on the sufferings and persecution to which the Church is subjected, and as rarely does he fail to do so when he has only those of his own flock before him. In either case he always concludes by giving all present his benediction. He also blesses, by one sole operation it is to be understood, for otherwise it would be work for many hours, all the various articles which the people have brought with them for that purpose, rosaries, crosses, devout pictures, medals, and the like. The quantity of this ware, which is brought to be blessed, is wonderful. Even Protestants take advantage of their visits to his Holiness, to carry home something that will be valued by their Catholic friends. The other day the Pope spoke a few words, touchingly enough, of the speed with which his own eighty-five years had flown away, how they seemed like a dream when he looked back over the course of them, and

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how truly from his own experience he could warn his hearers that their own days would run past them, and away from them with a rapidity that would make the retrospect in any case wonderful, terrible if they were wasted or ill-employed. His Holiness vindicates his claim to his temporal sovereignty by at least the possession of one attribute, which has usually been considered as special to royal personages, a singularly accurate memory for persons whom he has once seen. The other day, on being revisited after a lapse of ten years by a non-Catholic American gentleman of no especial note, he referred to his former interview with him, and remarked on the number of the population belonging to the Methodist connection in the district from which the gentleman came.

As soon as the audience of the day is at an end, and there is rarely a day without one, the Pope goes for his walk, the locality of which is determined by the state of the weather and by his own greater or lesser disposition for exercise. If the weather be unpropitious, and he is not inclined for much movement, he will go to the Sala Matilda, a large hall on the floor of the Vatican below that on which he resides, and take a turn or merely sit there awhile; or, if the weather be bad, and he wants a walk, he will take one in the vast galleries of the Vatican, which are of an extent capable of furnishing any amount of pedestrian exercise; or, if the weather be inviting, he will take a walk in the garden. Those very few persons who have permission to use the garden receive on those days a notice to the effect that during certain hours they must abstain from going thither. The walk which he prefers, and almost invariably uses, is a very lovely one. It is entered by the gate leading from the statue-gallery to the garden, and forms a terrace, sheltered to the north by a high wall, entirely clothed with magnificent orange-trees, overlooking a flower-garden at a lower level, and across this commanding the finest, indeed I may say the only fine, near view of the dome of St. Peter's. At the farther end of this straight, broad terrace-walk, there is a tree immediately in front of the iron and wire gates of a large aviary, containing a numerous population of birds of no very rare or uncommon sorts, pigeons and ducks, and fowls for the most part. Often Pius will stand at these gates for a few minutes and amuse himself with looking at his poultry. But

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beneath the tree which has been mentioned there are a few very common and uncomfortable-looking iron garden-seats placed in a sort of semicircle. And on one of these, always the same, the Pope sits, while the two or three familiars whom he has asked to accompany him in his walk, dignitaries of the Church almost invariably, Cardinals often, but not always, sit on the others and chat.

After the walk, at two or three o'clock, as the business of the day may have decided, comes the very simple and moderate dinner, eaten of course by the Pope alone at table. Both in eating and drinking he is very moderate; but likes that the small quantity of wine he takes should be of the best, and he prefers Bordeaux. When dinner is over he looks at the newspapers, and perhaps goes to sleep in his chair over them. He by no means limits his reading to the Catholic or clerical organs of the press, but has the papers of all colours and of all parties. He rather specially, I am assured, is in the habit of looking over the "red" journals.

After his hour's repose after dinner, whether it be spent in indulging in a nap or in reading, he goes for another little walk if the weather be fine. Then, returning to his apartment, he takes some very small matter for supper, and after that sits with a few *habitués*, who come to see him, or with any Bishop from the country whom he may have asked for a little chat, then retires to his private chapel for his evening prayer, and is in bed by ten.

The Pope is not a good sleeper; and the attendants in the adjoining room, one or other of whom makes a point of being awake all through the night, frequently hear him praying, and very often singing in his bed, to while away the tedium of sleepless hours.

Such is the daily life of Pius the Ninth, and it will be admitted that it includes a degree of activity and an amount of labour very remarkable in a man of his age. It is occasionally slightly varied by the holding of a Consistory, or the utterance of a more than ordinarily important allocution, involving the subsequent amusement of seeing all the chatter that it has occasioned in all the newspapers of Europe, much as boys watch the widening circles on the surface of a pond into which they have thrown a stone! More rarely he is occupied by the busi-

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ness, and all the circumstances attending the most important of all the acts, the doing of which is still left to the Holy Father—the creation of new Cardinals. But, as a rule, the days of the life of Pius the Ninth have been, for the last six years, very unbrokenly such as that above described.

Nor is the tranquil and even flow of them disturbed by any of these incidents, whether great or small, which often act injuriously on the physical condition of the aged by giving a shock to the moral feelings. When, a few weeks ago, Cardinal Antonelli, who had been the Pope's friend and counsellor, and devoted servant for little less than thirty years, and whom he was in the habit of seeing every day, was dying, the people of the Apostolic Court were much afraid of the effect the tidings might have on the Holy Father. But their anxiety was quite needless, and all their solicitude thrown away. The Pontiff heard the tidings that his old servant had breathed his last, in the rooms there immediately over his own, with the most good-humoured indifference. And within three hours of the death of the old Secretary wrote with his own hand the telegraphic despatch which was to appoint his successor.

But the Court was relieved from a yet more painful anxiety and alarm, when, not long after the death of the Secretary, the Pope's old cat died. He had lived with the Pontiff many years, and was the Pope's constant companion at dinner, never appearing in his master's presence at any other time. He always came in with the soup, sat gravely in a chair opposite the Pontiff till the latter had finished his dinner, then received his own portion from his master's hand, and took himself off till the same hour on the following day. And now poor old puss was dead! The people round the Pope feared that he might be painfully affected by the death of his old favourite—Popes have so few things to love! But to the great relief, surprise, and satisfaction of the entire Court, he did not seem to care a bit more for the death of the old cat than he did for that of the old Secretary. When he was told that his old favourite was dead, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "One Pope dies! Make another!"

When the old Farnese, Paul the Third, who had attained much about the present age of Pius the Ninth, though at the conclusion of a papacy of only half the duration, turned his

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face to the wall, he died broken-hearted at the misconduct and ingratitude of his children. Pius the Ninth has been far too regular a man to have any children; but if he had had them by dozens, they could not have shortened his life, let them behave as they might! If Pius lives till he dies of a broken heart he will survive most of us yet!

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE THIRD OF JUNE.—COINCIDENT "FESTA DI STATUTO."—CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE FIRST PLANNING OF PILGRIMAGES.—THE POPE'S DISCOURSES.—POPE'S FREEDOM IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS SPIRITUAL POWER.—MANCINI'S BILL FOR REPRESSION OF CLERICAL ABUSES.—PAPAL ALLOCUTION PENDING DISCUSSION OF THE BILL.—CIRCULAR OF CARDINAL SIMEONI.—THE PILGRIMAGES.—LABOUR UNDERGONE BY THE POPE.—ADULATION ADDRESSED TO HIM.—OFFERINGS BROUGHT BY PILGRIMS.—EXHIBITION OF PRESENTS.—POPE'S CHEERFULNESS.—PROBABLE CANONISATION.—SERVICES RENDERED BY HIM TO THE CHURCH.—TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER OF PIUS THE NINTH.

THE 3rd of June, 1877, was the fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of Pius the Ninth as a Bishop, and immense and world-wide preparations were made for the due celebration of the day. An enormous concourse of "pilgrims," gathering from all parts of the earth to offer their homage and congratulations to the Pontiff, who alone of all the long line has surpassed in the duration of his Pontificate that attributed by tradition to St. Peter, was expected, in accordance with the arrangements made, to be assembled in the Eternal City on that occasion. It was feared, even, with not a little of misgiving by the more timid, and with a certain amount of anxiety even by the Italian Government, that the 3rd of June would not pass without serious disturbances. It was difficult to say, indeed, what the "pilgrims" could do to assist the cause they have at heart, even if there should be, as was at one time imagined, thirty thousand of them. But a street riot is easily begun; and it is undeniable that, if it should so have happened that two or three pilgrims should have been shot down in the streets of Rome by Italian soldiers, such an occurrence would have admirably suited the views and purposes of the rulers of Roman Catholic policy. Precautions were accordingly taken, which seemed to the civil authorities to be sufficient for the preservation of the

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peace under any circumstances. And there was at one time a talk of deferring, or anticipating, the "Festa di Statuto," the national holiday which is prescribed by law to be held on the first Sunday in June. It was feared that the simultaneous presence in the streets of two masses of people, each animated by sentiments bitterly hostile to the other, might be dangerous. The 3rd of June has passed, however, and nothing whatsoever has occurred to disturb the peace of the Eternal City.

Subsequently to the planning of the pilgrimages in honour of this certainly very remarkable anniversary, however, circumstances occurred which gave to the celebration an increased importance, and imparted to it a political significance more accentuated than its projectors could originally have hoped. I have already spoken of the wonderful number of discourses which, during the whole period of his "captivity," Pius the Ninth has been in the almost daily habit of pronouncing. The number of those collected in the volumes I have spoken of in a former chapter must have been doubled since they were collected. Some of these were, of course, much more important than others, for they were spoken on every sort of occasion, from solemn harangues to the members of the Sacred College, to improvised addresses to little school-girls. The discourses of the former years of the "captivity" were carefully gathered and published. And, doubtless, the product in this sort of the latter years will also in due time be given to the world. The former collection, amid the great mass of mere words, of course, calling for no remark, contained, on some of its pages, passages which were calculated to try in some degree the equanimity of the Italian Government. And every now and again in his later discourses, his Holiness, when led to refer to his own present position and the wrongs of the Church, not unnaturally, nay, almost inevitably, spoke words which civil governments, especially such as have to be on their guard against a pretender to the crown, are not wont to tolerate. In the solemn Allocutions which his Holiness put forth on special and important occasions, this, as was naturally to be expected, occurred in a more marked degree.

To what extent was this freedom of seditions speaking to be tolerated? It had been promised to the Pope and to Europe, at the time when Italy was about to take possession of Rome, that the free and independent exercise of his spiritual power

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should be secured to him. It was a most imprudent promise, and was probably made with a very small amount of consideration as to the meaning of "spiritual power," and as to what the freedom of exercising it involves. Unquestionably it involves the right of saying and disseminating, by the press or otherwise, whatsoever he may choose to say! And now the Italian Government is beginning to discover that this is a right which it is most inconvenient to permit him to exercise. A small amount of very ordinary consideration of the subject would surely have sufficed to suggest to the statesmen who made the promise in question, that this entire liberty of exercising his spiritual authority is what no civil government has ever found it possible to permit to the Pope. Nor will it be possible for the Italian Government permanently to do so.

Of course, the promises of the rulers of a country governed by an elective chamber are worthless, as the Pope himself has on more than one occasion pointed out. One set of men cannot engage the consciences of another body. And even less can it be supposed that one generation can bind those that come after it. It is, therefore, but little to the purpose to urge that any law restraining the Pontiff from publishing seditious matter, would be an infringement of the law of "the guarantees." Such a restriction is unquestionably an infringement of that law and of the promises made by it. But this was not the ground on which the most thoughtful of those who objected to the attempt at legislation on this subject, unsuccessfully made by the Italian Cabinet in the winter of 1876, felt themselves bound to oppose it. The law introduced by Signor Mancini, the Law Minister of the Radical Cabinet, not only proposes to make penal the publication of the ecclesiastical manifestoes of a seditious nature, from whatever source they might come, but created clerical offences in terms, the vagueness of which would have made them, if the law had not become a dead letter, the instruments of the most intolerable tyranny. And the proposed law, passed in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority composed of men singularly incompetent and unfitted for the business of legislation, was rejected by the better sense of the Senate.

Pius the Ninth is reported to have received the tidings of this rejection with a heartfelt "Thank God!" But there is

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very good ground for believing that to a certain number of members of the Sacred College this rejection was a disappointment. And these men were, I think, wiser in their generation than the children of comparative light. The penalties which Signor Mancini's bill proposed to inflict on the printers and publishers of the Pope's seditious speeches would by no means have availed to prevent their publication. Abundant candidates for the martyrdom, to be obtained by committing the offence, would have been forthcoming. The discourses in question would have been printed in Switzerland, and smuggled across the frontier by the hundred thousand. They would have been reproduced by scores of newspapers in France, Belgium, Switzerland, and even England. It would have needed a system of more than Chinese isolation and exclusiveness to keep such matter out. And the only result of the law would have been to attract a greatly increased amount of attention to the documents in question, and to have created a fictitious interest in, and appetite for them. On the other hand, the passing of the law would have put into the hands of the Clerical party one of those weapons which they know how to use with such admirable effect. It would have given them a cry! And the speeches and allocutions would have been published all the same.

While the matter was pending, the Pontiff pronounced a more than ordinarily violent allocution, which in fact was nothing less than an exhortation to all the Catholic Powers and Catholics of the world to engage in a crusade for the destruction of the kingdom of Italy and the restoration of the Pope to his former position of a Sovereign Prince. The ordinary law regulating press matters would have amply justified the Government in stopping the publication of this inflammatory document. But the printing and circulation of it was in nowise interfered with. In fact, it would have been exceedingly difficult for the Ministry to have done so. For one of the objections most strongly urged against Signor Mancini's bill for the repression of clerical abuses was, that, as regarded one very important part of it, it was unnecessary, seeing that the object it professed to have in view was already provided for by existing legislation. The boldness of the allocution in question, however; the fact that, as the Clericals

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of course put it, the Ministry was afraid to interfere with the publication of it; the very wide attention which had been drawn throughout Europe to the bill which the Chamber of Deputies had passed after a debate which was truly scandalous and disgraceful on the part of several of the more violent supporters of the ministerial measure; and lastly, a circular upon the subject, which Cardinal Simeoni, the Pope's Secretary of State, had addressed to all the Nuncios at the various Catholic Courts, all contributed to give, as I have said, an increased *éclat* and significance to the anniversary of the 3rd of June, and to the pilgrimages performed in celebration of it.

For many weeks before the day to be celebrated statements of the numbers of pilgrims expected from the different countries of Europe were published daily. It was calculated by the Catholic organs that from twenty to thirty thousand might be looked for. There is no doubt that this number was greatly exaggerated. But many thousands have come and gone. But they were not here all at the same time on the 3rd of June, as it was at one time expected they would be. Perhaps it was feared that so great a concourse would be unmanageable even by their own ecclesiastical friends. Indeed, if the labour incidental to the reception of them by the Pontiff had not been spread out over a period much longer than it was possible for the greater part of the pilgrims to remain in Rome, it would seem impossible for so aged a man to have survived it. As it is, it seems truly wonderful that Pius in his eighty-fifth year should have gone through the amount of fatigue he has sustained. During the greater part of May and the first week of June he has held receptions almost every day, and on some days many—one after the other. And on every occasion he has been expected to speak, and has spoken mostly at considerable length! Some of these receptions have been attended by scores only of persons, but many of them by thousands. And during the earlier portion of the time named, the aged Pontiff went through this labour under great suffering from sciatica. It was at no time true, as was so frequently asserted, that he was dangerously ill, or paralysed, or indeed ill at all save from rheumatic pains and sciatica. But the necessity of receiving and addressing daily crowds of strangers under such circumstances must have been very trying.

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However, "the labour we delight in physics pain!" And the desire for admiration, approbation, and adulation which has been so marked a characteristic of Pius during his entire life, must truly have been satiated by such a tribute in that kind as has rarely been offered to any mortal. The terms in which the Pontiff was addressed day after day by his visitors, and in which his reception of them was chronicled by the organs of the clerical press, were very frequently all but, if not altogether, such as reverential Protestants would deem fitting to be addressed to Deity alone. It seemed as if each new-comer was striving to outdo those who had gone before him in the outrageousness of his adulation. Certainly I should imagine that such a mass of flattery, and all but worship, had never before been addressed to a human being. Assuredly for once at least in his life Pius must have had enough to satisfy him of the incense he loves best of all things.

But the pilgrims from every country under the sun did not come to the papal footstool laden only with offerings of praise. All brought according to their means presents in cash and gifts of every conceivable kind. The sum total of the money offerings has been stated at various sums. But no one save the papal treasurer can be in a position to state the amount with any pretension to accuracy. Nor, indeed, can the account be yet finally made up; for at the time at which these lines are penned (9th June, 1877) the series of pilgrimages is not at an end. The cry is still they come! And none come empty-handed. Probably the entire sum may be reckoned at somewhat less than ten millions of francs.

More remarkable and interesting, however, is the collection of articles which have been brought to the Holy Father as presents in some instances from individuals, but in the very great majority of cases from bodies of persons banded together for the purpose. The whole of this wonderfully heterogeneous mass of articles has been collected for exhibition to the holders of tickets, very easily procured, in those vast galleries of the Vatican, which are known as the Galleries of the Maps. Assuredly a more extraordinary exhibition was never offered to the examination of the curious. Rich and poor, high and lowly, clerks and laymen, young and old, nuns and artificers, charity children and princes, the old world and the new, have contri-

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buted to bring together this vast mass of heterogeneous objects, the sole link of connection among which is the sentiment which has animated the donors. And assuredly the friends of the Papacy may point with some triumph to this singular collection, in which each object is labelled with the name, address, and quality of the donors as a proof that there is scarcely to be found a corner of the civilized world in which Catholic feeling strong enough to inspire self-sacrifice is not to be found.

Certainly, looking at the thing merely as a sight, so strange an one has rarely been seen. Of course the first thing that strikes one on entering is the predominance of ecclesiastical properties, comprising every description of the numerous articles needed for the sumptuous celebration of Roman Catholic worship. An almost endless series of copes and other vestments, all richly embroidered, and some of them miracles of art and splendour, lined the walls. There must have been many hundreds of them. Enormous quantities of linen for surplices and altar-cloths, ornamented with the finest lace that human fingers can produce, and still larger masses of less splendid linen intended to be distributed among the poorest congregations, loaded the tables below. Chalices, reliquaries, ostensories, thuribles, complete altar-services, some, *chef-d'œuvres* of the goldsmith's art, and gorgeously ornamented with precious stones, many of solid gold, and all of them dazzlingly brilliant, were ranged in really almost countless numbers. In one place there were piled a stack of little canvas portmanteaux, each containing all the requisites for the celebration of the mass and intended for the use of missionaries. Among the ecclesiastical objects must be numbered immense quantities of gaudily painted and ornamented wax candles and tapers. There were a great number of pictures of every degree of merit and demerit, of more or less religious character—among them one by Guido Reni and one by Van Dyck.

But among all this vast collection of church furniture, there were an infinite number of articles, of kinds far too numerous for any attempt to specify them, which had no relation to ecclesiastical matters. Piles of cheeses, sausages, bottles of wine in large numbers, articles of furniture, writing-desks, tables, of more or less artistic merit and beauty, were massed together without any principle of arrangement, except a geo-

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graphical one, according to the countries from which they came.

There was the splendid gold chalice presented by the Duke of Aosta; a bishop's cross and ring in precious stones, sent by the Dukes of Nemours and Alençon; a magnificent piece of Gobelins tapestry, the gift of Marshal MacMahon; a poor necklace of coral beads and a pair of earrings, the gift of some poor peasant woman who had absolutely nothing else to give; and from the parish priest of Cognac three bottles of brandy, bearing respectively the dates 1792, 1819, and 1827, being the years of the Pope's birth, ordination as a priest, and consecration as a bishop! A very notable idea of anniversary keeping, it must be admitted, has his reverence of Cognac!

Many manufacturers seem to have endeavoured to unite a stroke of worldly with the more avowed heavenly business of the occasion; and have sent splendid specimens of their wares, as they would to any mundane "exposition!"

Altogether, this Vatican exhibition is a most extraordinary one; and it is very improbable that the world will ever see its like again! Only for a few days, indeed, was it possible for the non-clerical world to see it at all. It was very shortly closed; and an announcement was put forth in the clerical organs to the effect that that measure had been necessitated by certain improprieties which had taken place. It is to be supposed that some of those admitted to visit the galleries were sufficiently base and unprincipled to express their hatred of the Church by damaging the Pope's private property.

Some little time ago, in the spring, those who had occasion to see the Pontiff reported that his manner was much changed; that the constant good humour and cheerfulness which had characterized him in so marked a degree had disappeared; that he had become fretful and cross. The fact was that he was greatly suffering. And those who have ever made acquaintance with sciatica will not find it difficult to understand, even without being a Pope and eighty-five, that to be obliged to receive strangers, and constrained the while by the proprieties from manifesting any symptoms of pain, under such circumstances is not conducive to genial amiability. But with the hot weather and the pilgrims, his Holiness seems to have become himself again. He is cheerful, gay even, full of jests and

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quips and cranks among his intimates, and inexhaustible in the talk he addresses to the unceasing series of "pilgrims," deputations, school children, bishops, parish priests, and even mere gaping heretic sightseers who come to him. Probably the cessation of this labour, and of the excitement and gratification of his vanity accompanying it, might go far towards ending his life. But there is no prospect of any such evil chance befalling him. And for all that is apparent, he may live yet some years!

I remember being told at the "Sagro Eremo," on the ridge of the backbone of the Apennines above Camaldoli, that the recluses there held in great reverence the memory of a brother of the house, who had died about a hundred years ago, and was —whether by regular canonisation or only by local reputation, I know not—held to be a saint. And on inquiry respecting the merits of one among a society all of whom live in complete inaction, and in the practice of the most rigid asceticism, I was told, in a tone which implied that the information given was abundantly sufficient, that the holy man had lived as porter of the house to the age of one hundred and two! So that one may not only live down an evil reputation, as the phrase is, but live into a saintly one, by mere virtue of perduration!

There is little doubt that Pius the Ninth will be duly canonised. And though it would not perhaps be fair to represent that he has no claims to such an honour beyond those of the old Camaldolese porter, it is yet certain that he would not have been considered to have earned a place in the calendar if he had died twenty years ago. But if canonisation is to be considered, as probably it should be considered, to be the mede of service and utility to the Church, it must no doubt be admitted that many saints have deserved it less than Pius the Ninth.

His intellectual calibre is such as to enable him to believe with entire sincerity all that a Pope should believe, and beyond this—a rare qualification in any educated man at the present day—to accept in his own person with genuine conviction, and add to the field of Roman Catholic belief, new forms of superstition so gross, so earthly, so grovelling, as to be especially calculated for ecclesiastical use in an age when it has become necessary to restrict the Church's fold; to cast out all such as are made half-hearted by glimmerings of intelligence fatally

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mixed with aspirations after truthfulness; and to ruddle-mark the faithful flock with a symbol vouching each man's and each woman's acceptance of the Jesuitic "*perinde ac cadaver.*" For the tendency of the age is to separate Churchmen from non-Churchmen, not, as heretofore, in accordance with accidents of birth, education and country, but in accordance with the mental temperament and intellectual calibre of each individual. And the ecclesiastical legislation of Pius has been, and will hereafter, in a yet greater degree, be incalculably useful in securing to the Church militant that accession of strength which is so often coincident with restriction in numbers, and in placing a gulf wide as that which separated Dives from Lazarus between the Church's friends and the Church's foes.

Pius the Ninth has never been deemed by those who have known him best as layman, and priest, a lover or practiser of truth. But his untruthfulness is in nowise incompatible with sincerity in his theological belief. It is probable, on the contrary that a mind greatly in love with truth for its own sake would be less capable of accepting, with that unquestioning acquiescence which is commonly called belief, such assertions and doctrines as many of those to which Pius has, doubtless without any conscious insincerity, given the authority of his affirmation.

It will have become sufficiently apparent to those who have read the foregoing chapters, that the temperament and character of Pius the Ninth are not marked by any tenderness of feeling or vividness or largeness of sympathy. He probably never loved any human being. But he is a genial and kindly man, as eupeptic people are, whose blood runs wholesomely and calmly in their veins; and as those more especially are whose happiness is so largely dependent, as his is, on the manifest approbation and applause of his fellow-creatures. There is no reason to doubt that it is far more agreeable to him to confer benefits and spread happiness around him, than to do the reverse. But his beneficence is not beyond the reach of being affected by small resentments. He is not prone to forgive. That such is the case may be gathered from his conduct on sundry occasions of his public career; and the fact might be further illustrated by certain anecdotes, of too intimate a nature for the publication of them at the present date to be consistent

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with propriety. It is, perhaps, impossible for one so inordinately vain to be prompt to forgive offence. For the pain caused by it to the person offended must be in proportion to the strength of the feeling hurt.

And finally, to return to what has been so often set forth in these pages, vanity—or if the passion seem to be nobilitated by such phraseology, let it be called love of admiration and approbation—is the master passion of the man, and the key to his character. An ever hungry, never satiated craving for admiration—not such as can be satisfied by the consciousness of having secured the favourable verdict of his own and of future generations, but such applause as the actor covets, the present and visible clapping of hands, and loud manifestations of the multitude—is the ruling passion, as of the youngster flaunting in the streets of his native Sinigaglia, so of the aged Pontiff spending his last strength in gathering in the tribute to it, offered by devotees from every quarter of the earth.

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APPENDIX.

SEE PAGE 109.

THE following instructions, sent by Mazzini for the use of the young Italy party in Rome, in the autumn of 1846, are translated from the copy of the original, printed at page 120 of the first volume of the "Storia della Riviluzione di Roma," by Guiseppe Spada. They may, however, be found in sundry other places.

TO THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

The territorial divisions of Italy place difficulties in the way of her regeneration, which it will be necessary to conquer before any direct progress can be made. However we must not lose courage. Every step towards *unity* will be a step in advance. And without its having been foreseen, regeneration will be on the point of being completed when unity can be proclaimed.

THE MEANS.

I. PRINCES.

In great countries regeneration must be attained by means of the people; in your country by means of the princes. It is necessary absolutely to commit them to the enterprise. To do so is easy. The Pope will advance on the path of reform from principle and from necessity. The King of Piedmont from the

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hope of obtaining the crown of Italy. The Grand Duke of Tuscany from inclination and imitation. The King of Naples from force. And the smaller princes will have enough to think of besides the repressing of reform. Do not trouble yourselves about the part of the country occupied by the Austrians. It is possible that reform, turning their flank may cause them to advance more quickly than the others in the path of progress. A people to whom a constitution has given the right of demanding may speak in a lofty tone, and may at need command by means of insurrection. But a people still in slavery can but sing its needs, so that the expression of them may be heard without occasioning too much displeasure. Take advantage of the smallest concession to make an opportunity for bringing together masses of the people, if only in attestation of gratitude. Festivals, songs, agglomerations of people, numerous relationships established between men of every shade of opinion suffice to cause the generation of ideas, to give the people the sentiment of its strength, and to render it exigent.

[It is impossible to avoid noticing the exactitude with which the directions here given correspond with the conduct of the people in the days following the proclamation of the amnesty. Mazzini was well served by the apostles of his gospel! And he himself was a consummate master of the business he took in hand.]

II. The Grandees.

The assistance of the grandees is an indispensable necessity for the increment of principles of reform in a feudal society. If you have only the people, misgivings will arise at the first step, and all will be lost. If the movement be led by some of the grandees these will serve as a passport to the people. Italy is still in the condition in which France was before the revolution. It has need of its Mirabeaus, its Lafayettes, and so many others. A great magnate may be held in check by his material interests; but he can be taken by his vanity. Few of them will be willing to go on to the end. The essential point is that the goal of the great revolution should be unknown to them. They must never be allowed to see farther than the first step to be taken.

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III. The Clergy.

In Italy the clergy are rich in money, and in the faith of the people. For the sake of both these advantages it is desirable to conciliate them, and to gain over the influence they possess. If you could in every capital create a Savonarola, we should advance with giant strides. The clergy is not inimical to liberal institutions. Seek therefore to associate it with you in this first effort, which must be considered as the obligatory vestibule of the temple of equality. Without the vestibule the sanctuary remains closed. Do not attack the clergy either in its fortune or in its orthodoxy. Promise it liberty, and you will see it in your ranks.

IV. The People.

In Italy the people is yet to be created; but it is ready to break the shell which still holds it in. Speak frequently, and much, and everywhere of its miseries and of its needs. The people understand nothing as yet; but the busy portion of society becomes penetrated by these sentiments of compassion for the people, and sooner or later it becomes operative. Profound and learned discussions are neither necessary nor opportune. There are generating words which contain all in themselves, and which ought to be repeated frequently to the people: "*Liberty!*" "Rights of man!" "Progress!" "Equality!" "Fraternity!" This is what the people will comprehend, especially when to these words you oppose the words, "Despotism!" "Privilege!" "Tyranny!" "Slavery!" The difficult thing is, not the convincing of the people, but the getting them together. The day in which the people shall be assembled together will be the first of the new era.

V. All in General.

The stair of progress is long. Time and patience are needed to reach the top of it. The way to climb it quickly is to take one step at a time. To attempt to spring to the top is to expose our undertaking to many evils. Two thousand years ago, a great philosopher called Christ preached that fraternity, which is still a desideratum in the world. Receive therefore every aid that may be offered to you, never thinking it of small importance. The terrestrial globe is formed of grains of sand. Who-

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ever is willing to make one single step in the path of progress with you should be considered as one of your friends, until he leaves you. A king, suppose, gives a more liberal law. Applaud it, demanding at the same time that which logically ought to follow it. A minister indicates views of progress—hold him up as a model. A grand seigneur gives indications that he does not care for his privileges—put yourselves under his direction. If he wants to stop short you will always be in time to leave him, and he will remain isolated and without force against you. And you will have a thousand means of rendering unpopular those who have opposed themselves to your designs. All personal discontents, all illusions, all irritated ambitions may be made to serve the cause of progress if others know how to give them a good direction.

VI. Obstacles.

The army, which is always submissive by education, by organisation and by interest, is the greatest obstacle to the progress of socialism. There is the great assistance of despotism. It is necessary to paralyse the army by means of the general education of the people. When the public shall have understood that the army, which exists for the defence of the country, has no business to interfere in any way with the interior politics of the country, and owes respect to the public, then it will be possible to go forward without the army, or even against it, without risk. The clergy possesses only one half of the doc trine of socialism. It desires, as we do, fraternity, which it calls charity; but its government and its habitudes make it an aid to authority, that is to say, to despotism. What is needed is to take off it what it has of good, and to cut off the evil. Endeavour to make equality penetrate into the church, then all will go on. Clerical power is personified in the Jesuits. The odium which is attached to this name is a power on the side of socialists. Remember this.

VII. The Means of Action.

Associate! associate! associate! Everything is in this one word. Secret societies confer an irresistible force on the party which can avail itself of them. Do not be alarmed at seeing them divided. The more they divide themselves the more suc-

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cessful they will be. All tend to the same goal by different roads. The secret will be often violated ; so much the better ! Secrecy is necessary to give tranquillity to the minds of the members ; and a certain degree of transparency of the secret is necessary to terrify the stationary. When a large number of associates, receiving the word of order to spread certain ideas, and to make public opinion to consist of them, shall be able to commence a concerted movement, they will find the old edifice riddled and honeycombed in all its parts, and ready to fall as by miracle at the first breath of progress. They will themselves be stricken with wonder to see kings, princes, the rich, the priests, which formed the old social edifice, flying before the sole power of opinion. Courage, then, and perseverance !

The passage in which the proclivity of Pius the Ninth's mind to superstitions of a very gross and debasing kind has been spoken of in this volume might be justified by many passages from the annals of his ecclesiastical administration. But perhaps the following translation of a document published in Rome, with the permission and approbation of the Holy Father, may be deemed sufficient for the purpose.

The paper in question is entitled, "A true letter of Jesus Christ sent by the hand of the Guardian Angel to a girl called Bridget, nine miles distant from St. Marcel in France, printed in letters of gold and found at the foot of a crucifix, where there was a girl, who for seven years had not spoken, and suddenly on hearing the present letter, she spoke, and said three times, 'Jesus and Mary !' and thenceforward continued to speak, and died holily at the age of twelve years."

The letter runs as follows :

"On Sunday, which is an obligatory festival, go to Holy Church and pray to God to forgive you your sins. I have left you six days to labour and the seventh for rest. You ought on that day to attend the Holy Mass, and hear the Divine services and sermons, and give alms to the poor according to your means, so that you may be by Me made to abound in wealth. If in addition you will fast five Fridays in the year in honour of My five wounds, which I received on the Cross, I will grant to you many favours of those you shall ask of Me. All those who shall

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speak against this My holy letter, who shall assert that it did not proceed from My holy mouth, as also all such as shall keep it concealed and shall not publish it, shall be abandoned by Me. And all those who shall manifest it, and shall say that it proceeded from My holy mouth, I will pardon * them all their sins, and they shall be blessed by Me eternally. Those, moreover, who shall make it known, shall have no malignant spirits about them, shall be free from lightning stroke, from tempests and scourges; and if any woman cannot be delivered of child, by putting upon her this My holy letter, and thrice reciting Ave Maria to the most Holy Virgin, she shall be happily delivered. All those who shall obey My holy commandments shall enjoy the holy glory of Paradise eternally. I received thirty blows on the mouth; and when I was near the house of Anna, I fell three times; I had four hundred and five blows on the head, and the soldiers who conducted Me were three thousand two hundred and forty; and those who carried Me when I was bound were eight. The drops of blood which I shed were three millions and eight hundred; and to that person who shall say to Me every day for three years continuously, two *Paters*, an *Ave*, and a *Gloria*, to equal the drops of blood which I shed on Mount Calvary, I will grant five favours—1st. Plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins; 2nd. I will not allow him to suffer the pains of purgatory; 3rd. I will grant him to be as a martyr, who has shed his blood for the Holy faith; 4th. I will come down from Heaven upon earth to take his soul, when together with the souls of his relations to the fourth degree, even though they be in purgatory, I will carry them to enjoy the Holy glory of Paradise for eternity; 5th. The Blessed Virgin Mary, shall go to assist the souls of those persons who shall carry this Holy letter about them for eight days before they die, and they shall not die of sudden death. Their house shall be free from all evil."

This is put forth by Pius the Ninth, A. M. D. G., and for the edification of the faithful! I think my case is sufficiently proved.

* I translate literally, keeping the imperfection of the sentence as in the original.

THE END.

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